

# The Revolution.

PRINCIPLE, NOT POLICY: JUSTICE, NOT FAVORS.—MEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING MORE: WOMEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING LESS.

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## The Revolution.

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OFFICE 37 PARK ROW (ROOM 20.)

TAMMANY HALL AND SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Equal Rights Association, held June 8th, Susan B. Anthony was appointed a delegate to the Democratic Convention, to be held in this city on the 4th of July. A resolution was moved by Theodore Tilton, seconded by Edwin A. Studwell, and unanimously adopted. Seeing that the Chicago Convention gave the women of the nation the cold shoulder, and fell from grace on the question of suffrage, we trust that Susan B. Anthony may have a respectful hearing in the Democratic Convention, and that they may wisely adopt the platform of universal suffrage, without distinction of sex or color. As this action of the Executive Committee of the American Equal Rights Association, has called out extensive comments both in public and private, we give these of the press:

From the N. Y. World, June 10th.

Yesterday the American Equal Rights Association held a meeting, at which Mrs. E. Cady Stanton, Mrs. Lucy Stone, Mr. H. B. Blackwell, Oliver Johnson and Theodore Tilton were present. On motion of Theodore Tilton, a resolution was adopted appointing Miss Susan B. Anthony a delegate at large to the National Democratic Convention to press upon the delegates the propriety of embracing woman suffrage within their resolves. It was understood at the meeting, and will be understood by the public, that this movement pledges these former radicals to the support of the action of the Convention upon whose attention they labor to impress their peculiar principles.

From the N. Y. Tribune, June 11th.

There has been some sparring lately between the Equal Rights Association and "THE REVOLUTION." The editors of that journal have been accused of going over to the democracy. At a meeting of the Equal Rights Association recently, on motion of Theodore Tilton, the following resolution was adopted, amid much laughter:

"Whereas, Miss Susan B. Anthony, through published writings in 'THE REVOLUTION,' has given the world to understand that the hope of the Woman's Rights cause rests more largely with the democratic party than with any other portion of the people; therefore,

"Resolved, That Miss Anthony be requested to attend the approaching National Democratic Convention in New York, July 4th, for the purpose of fulfilling this cheerful hope, by securing, in the democratic platform, a recognition of woman's right to the elective franchise."

A curious feature of the present campaign was the meeting recently of the American Equal Rights Association, including the leading advocates of woman suffrage, and the appointment by them of Miss Susan B. Anthony as delegate at large for the women of the United States to the Democratic National Convention "to press upon the delegates the propriety of embracing woman suffrage within their resolves." As there is an immediate

prospect of such a resolution being adopted by the Democratic Convention, and of the skies falling at about the same time, a large number of larks will undoubtedly be caught. Let every advocate of woman's rights therefore be "ready for a lark."

From the N. Y. Sun, June 11th.

THEODORE TILTON COMMITTED TO THE DEMOCRATIC CAUSE.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Equal Rights Association, held in New York, Monday, June 8, the following resolution was offered by Theodore Tilton, and unanimously adopted:

"Whereas, Miss Susan B. Anthony, through various published writings in 'THE REVOLUTION,' has given the world to understand that the hope of the Woman's Rights cause rests more largely with the democratic party than with any other portion of the people; therefore,

"Resolved, That Miss Anthony be requested to attend the approaching National Democratic Convention in New York, July 4, for the purpose of fulfilling this cheerful hope by securing, in the Democratic platform, a recognition of woman's right to the elective franchise."

The American Equal Rights Association, whose special organ in the daily press now seems to be the *World*, held a meeting on Tuesday in their rooms in the *World* building, and, on motion of Mr. Theodore Tilton, appointed Miss Susan B. Anthony as a delegate to the approaching National Democratic Convention, to urge upon that body the adoption of a resolve in favor of woman's suffrage as a part of the democratic creed.

We understand that Miss Anthony will occupy a seat on the platform of the Convention, and will be heard on the subject of her appointment. This is another illustration of the fact, to which we have of late repeatedly had to call attention, that the democracy is once more becoming a party of progress and ideas, such as it used to be in the old days of Locofocoism and Gen. Jackson.

Everybody wonders if Miss Susan B. Anthony will actually go into the National Democratic Convention as the representative of the women's suffrage movement. We are authorized to say that she will, even if she goes alone. But she would prefer to have an escort; and if Theodore Tilton, after nominating her as a delegate, shall decline the honor of attending her, she hopes to get George Francis Train home in season to serve her in that capacity.

From the N. Y. Evening Express, June 11th.

WOMAN'S RIGHTS, ETC.

"A curious feature of the present campaign was the meeting recently of the American Equal Rights Association, including the leading advocates of woman suffrage, and the appointment by them of Mrs. E. Cady Stanton as delegate at large for the women of the United States to the Democratic National Convention, 'to press upon the delegates the propriety of embracing woman suffrage within their resolves.' As there is an immediate prospect of such a resolution being adopted by the Democratic Convention, and the skies falling at about the same time, a large number of larks will undoubtedly be caught—Let every advocate of woman's rights therefore be 'ready for a lark.'"—*Tribune*.

If the Radical Convention at Chicago let in negroes as delegates, and expressed no objection to negro suffrage, many people will think it would be a hard matter if one—only one—white woman would not be let into the Democratic Convention. If Sambo, Cuffee, Pompey, Caesar and the Carpet Baggers are good enough to keep company with Grant and Colfax, surely Mrs. E. C. Stanton is good enough (is she not, *Mr. Trib.*?) to have a seat in Tammany Hall.

The *Sun*, more chivalric than the *Tribune*, tells Miss Anthony not to be bashful, but to "go in." The editor says:

"We understand that Miss Anthony will occupy a seat on the platform of the Convention, and will be heard on the subject of her appointment."

## FREE RELIGIOUS CONVENTIONS.

The new religious movement makes another platform, though it is to be feared more *form* than *plat*. So far, it has been managed in a way to make a priesthood essential to its existence, inevitable to its propagation. At the recent Convention in Boston the preliminaries were all settled and the exercises nearly all controlled as well as conducted by recognized ministers. To our eye, it was pulpit and people, if not absolutely pulpit *versus* people. There was much of what is called speaking, along with too much that was dull in delivery and dull, or worse, in sentiment. It was both concealment and compromise. And then the people all the while were made to feel that eloquence and beauty belonged to the platform and the pulpit, and that religion was more in sound than sense, in words than deeds. Doubtless, many in the audience, both women and men, would have given all of life to be able to shine on the platform as did a few in that convention, who are every day *living* better speeches, *laboring* sublimer poems than Cicero ever spoke, or Homer sung. One man asked another, "Did you ever read the Pilgrim's Progress?" "No," was the answer, "but I am making it;" which was better than reading. What is eloquence or poetry but celebration of noble actions done, or prophecy of what shall be done? To celebrate heroes is well, but to live heroes is better. There was one John Brown, but what oratorios sound his praises; one Washington with generations to honor; one Christ, but who can tell the number of his worshippers? But in platform or pulpit gatherings we exalt not virtue, but him who prates best upon or praises virtue. An eloquent and ephoded priest at the altar would receive honor and reverence of the multitude, while the humble publican who dared not approach the holy of holies, and the poor widow with her two mites in charity, would pass without observation. So, doubtless, is it in every congregation of worshippers. The world yet fails to distinguish between the hero and his admirers. It costs less and pays more, in a worldly point of view, to be a poet or an orator in words than in deeds. The author of the famous old "Hail Columbia" song, it is said, wrote it under the inspiration of brandy as well as genius, and closed with the seventh verse. His work, as he read it, was of course admired, but he was told that he had omitted wholly the name of Washington. He saw it, and said, "bring me more brandy." Then he wrote:

Should the tempest of war overshadow our land,  
Its bolts could ne'er rend Freedom's temple asunder;  
For unmoved at its portal would Washington stand,  
And repulse with his breast the assault of its thunder  
His sword from the scabbard of its scabbard would leap,  
And conduct with its point every flash to the deep;  
For ne'er shall the sons of Columbia be slaves,  
While the earth bears a plant, or the sea rolls its waves.

It required the audience to suggest the name of the hero of the song. Before, it was but Hamlet with Hamlet omitted. The aid of



strong drink was invoked and the work of the poet was done. With the aid of genius, an audience and St. Cognac, a hero and his work got celebrated. But the work of the hero and his few brave co-workers was quite another product. They were the solid, sublime power; the substance. The other was but the shadow and song.

It is time the great impassable gulf betwixt platform and people, pulpit and congregation was closed up forever. Even the brokerage in Lyceum lectures has grown in its prices to downright extortion, constituting a new aristocracy. Ministers preach, lecturers vociferate, sometimes to purpose, sometimes not, but the people applaud, pay and praise, and all seem satisfied, except the few who mistake most in supposing the orator is something, is indeed everything, because he can make speeches or sermons, and that they are nothing, because they cannot. In that Free Religious Convention in Boston were quiet, humble men and women who write no poems, preach no sermons, make no orations, hold no offices and claim no distinctions, whose daily lives and work are sermons shaming all pulpits; poems beautiful as Mount Zion; orations diviner than ever charmed the senates of Greece and Rome. They are the very underpinning of society itself. Without them the world could not stand.

P. P.

### THE RIGHTS OF WOMAN.

BY MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT—1790.

#### CHAPTER I.

#### THE RIGHTS AND INVOLVED DUTIES OF MANKIND CONSIDERED.

In the present state of society, it appears necessary to go back to first principles in search of the most simple truths, and to dispute with some prevailing prejudice every inch of ground. To clear my way, I must be allowed to ask some plain questions, and the answers will probably appear as unequivocal as the axioms on which reasoning is built; though, then, entangled with various motives of action, they are formally contradicted, either by the words or conduct of men.

In what does man's pre-eminence over the brute creation consist? The answer is as clear as that a half is less than the whole; in Reason.

What acquirement exalt one being above another? Virtue; we spontaneously reply.

For what purpose were the passions implanted? That man by struggling with them might attain a degree of knowledge denied to the brutes: whispers Experience.

Consequently the perfection of our nature and capability of happiness, must be estimated by the degree of reason, virtue and knowledge, that distinguish the individual, and direct the laws which bind society; and that from the exercise of reason, knowledge and virtue naturally flow, is equally undeniable, if mankind be viewed collectively.

The rights and duties of man thus simplified, it seems almost impertinent to attempt to illustrate truths that appear so incontrovertible; yet such deeply rooted prejudices have clouded reason, and such spurious qualities have assumed the name of virtues, that it is necessary to pursue the course of reason as it has been perplexed and involved in error, by various adventitious circumstances, comparing the simple axiom with casual deviations.

Men, in general, seem to employ their reason to justify prejudices, which they have imbibed, they cannot trace how, rather than to root them out. The mind must be strong that resolutely forms its own principles; for a kind of intellectual cowardice prevails which makes many men shrink from the task, or only do it by halves. Yet imperfect conclusions thus drawn, are frequently very plausible, because they are built on partial experience, on just, though narrow views.

Going back to first principles, vice skulks, with all its native deformity, from close investigation; but a set of shallow reasoners are always exclaiming that these arguments prove too much, and that a measure rotten at the core may be expedient. Thus expediency is continually

contrasted with simple principles, till truth is lost in a mist of words, virtue in forms, and knowledge rendered a sounding nothing, by the specious prejudices that assume its name.

That the society is formed in the wisest manner, whose constitution is founded on the nature of man, strikes, in the abstract, every thinking being so forcibly, that it looks like presumption to endeavor to bring forward proofs; though proof must be brought, or the stronghold of prescription will never be forced by reason: yet to urge prescription as an argument to justify the depriving men (or women) of their natural rights, is one of the absurd sophisms which daily insult common sense.

The civilization of the bulk of the people of Europe, is very partial; nay, it may be made a question, whether they have acquired any virtues in exchange for innocence, equivalent to the misery produced by the vices that have been plastered over unsightly ignorance, and the freedom which has been bartered for splendid slavery. The desire of dazzling by riches, the most certain pre-eminence that man can obtain, the pleasure of commanding flattering sycophants, and many other complicated, low calculations of dotting self-love, have all contributed to overwhelm the mass of mankind, and make liberty a convenient handle for mock patriotism. For whilst rank and titles are held of the utmost importance, before which Genius "must hide its diminished head," it is, with a few exceptions, very unfortunate for a nation when a man of abilities, without rank or property, pushes himself forward to notice. Alas! what unheard of misery have thousands suffered to purchase a cardinal's hat for an intriguing, obscure adventurer, who longed to be ranked with princes, or lord it over them by seizing the triple crown!

Such, indeed, has been the wretchedness that has flowed from hereditary honors, riches, and monarchy, that men of lively sensibility have almost uttered blasphemy in order to justify the dispensations of Providence. Man has been held out as independent of his power who made him, or as a lawless planet darting from its orbit to steal the celestial fire of reason; and the vengeance of heaven, lurking in the subtle flame, sufficiently punished his temerity by introducing evil into the world.

Impressed by this view of the misery and disorder which pervaded society, and fatigued with jostling against artificial fools, Rousseau became enamored of solitude, and, being at the same time an optimist, he labors with uncommon eloquence to prove that man was naturally a solitary animal. Misled by his respect for the goodness of God, who certainly, for what man of sense and feeling can doubt it! gave life only to communicate happiness, he considers evil as positive, and the work of man; not aware that he was exalting one attribute at the expense of another, equally necessary to divine perfection.

Reared on a false hypothesis, his arguments in favor of a state of nature are plausible, but unsound. I say unsound; for to assert that a state of nature is preferable to civilization in all its possible perfection, is, in other words, to arraign supreme wisdom; and the paradoxical exclamation, that God has made all things right, and that evil has been introduced by the creature whom he formed, knowing what he formed, is as unphilosophical as impious.

When that wise Being, who created us and placed us here, saw the fair idea, he willed, by allowing it to be so, that the passions should unfold our reason, because he could see that present evil would produce future good. Could the helpless creature whom he called from nothing, break loose from his providence, and boldly learn to know good by practising evil without his permission? No. How could that energetic advocate for immortality argue so inconsistently? Had mankind remained forever in the brutal state of nature, which even his magic pen cannot paint as a state in which a single virtue took root, it would have been clear, though not to the sensitive, unreflecting wanderer, that man was born to run the circle of life and death, and adorn God's garden for some purpose which could not easily be reconciled with his attributes.

But if, to crown the whole, there were to be rational creatures produced, allowed to rise in excellency by the exercise of powers implanted for that purpose? if benignity itself thought fit to call into existence a creature above the brutes, who could think and improve himself, why should that inestimable gift, for a gift it was, if man was so created as to have a capacity to rise above the state in which sensation produced brutal ease, be called, in direct terms, a curse? A curse it might be reckoned, if all our existence was bounded by our continuance in this world; for why should the gracious fountain of life give us passions, and the power of reflect-

ing, only to embitter our days, and inspire us with mistaken notions of dignity? Why should he lead us from love of ourselves to the sublime emotions which the discovery of his wisdom and goodness excites, if these feelings were not set in motion to improve our nature, of which they make a part, and render us capable of enjoying a more godlike portion of happiness? Firmly persuaded that no evil exist in the world that God did not design to take place, I build my belief on the perfection of God.

Rousseau exerts himself to prove, that all was right originally: a crowd of authors that all is now right: and I, that all will be right.

But, true to his first position, next to a state of nature, Rousseau celebrates barbarism, and, apostrophizing the shade of Fabricius, he forgets that, in conquering the world, the Romans never dreamed of establishing their own liberty on a firm basis, or of extending the reign of virtue. Eager to support his system, he stigmatizes, as vicious, every effort of genius; and uttering the apotheosis of savage virtues, he exalts those to demi gods who were scarcely human—the brutal Spartans, who, in defiance of justice and gratitude, sacrificed in cold blood the slaves that had showed themselves men to rescue their oppressors.

Disgusted with artificial manners and virtues, the citizen of Geneva, instead of properly sifting the subject, threw away the wheat with the chaff, without waiting to inquire whether the evils, which his ardent soul turned from indignantly, were the consequence of civilization, or the vestiges of barbarism. He saw vice trampling on virtue, and the semblance of goodness taking place of the reality; he saw talents bent by power to sinister purposes, and never thought of tracing the gigantic mischief up to arbitrary power, up to the hereditary distinctions that clash with the mental superiority that naturally raises a man above his fellows. He did not perceive that the regal power, in a few generations, introduces idiotism into the noble stem, and holds out baits to render thousands idle and vicious.

Nothing can set the regal character in a more contemptible point of view, than the various crimes that have elevated men to the supreme dignity. Vile intrigues, unnatural crimes, and every vice that degrades our nature, have been the steps to this distinguished eminence; yet millions of men have supinely allowed the nerveless limbs of the posterity of such rapacious prowlers, to rest quietly on their ensanguined thrones.

What but a pestilential vapor can hover over society, when its chief director is only instructed in the invention of crimes, or the stupid routine of childish ceremonies? Will men never be wise? will they never cease to expect corn from tares and figs from thistles?

It is impossible for any man, when the most favorable circumstances concur, to acquire sufficient knowledge and strength of mind to discharge the duties of a king, entrusted with uncontrolled power; how then must they be violated when his very elevation is an insuperable bar to the attainment of either wisdom or virtue; when all the feelings of a man are stifled by flattery, and reflection shut out by pleasure! Surely it is madness to make the fate of thousands depend on the caprice of a weak fellow-creature, whose very station sinks him necessarily below the meanest of his subjects! But one power should not be thrown down to exalt another—for all power intoxicates weak man; and its abuse proves, that the more equality there is established among men, the more virtue and happiness will reign in society. But this, and any similar maxim deduced from simple reason, raises an outcry—the church or the state is in danger, if faith in the wisdom of antiquity is not implicit; and they who, roused by the sight of human calamity, dare to attack human authority, are reviled as despisers of God, and enemies of man. These are bitter calumnies, yet they reached one of the best of men,\* whose ashes still preach peace, and whose memory demands a respectful pause, when subjects are discussed that lay so near his heart.

After attacking the sacred majesty of kings, I shall scarcely excite surprise, by adding my firm persuasion, that every profession, in which great subordination of rank constitutes its power, is highly injurious to morality.

A standing army, for instance, is incompatible with freedom; because subordination and rigor are the very sinews of military discipline; and despotism is necessary to give vigor to enterprises that one will direct. A spirit inspired by romantic notions of honor, a kind of morality founded on the fashion of the age, can only be felt by a few officers, whilst the main body must be moved by command, like the waves of the sea; for the strong wind of authority pushes the crowd of

\* Dr. Price.



subalterns forward, they scarcely know or care why, with headlong fury.

Besides, nothing can be so prejudicial to the morals of the inhabitants of country towns, as the occasional residence of a set of idle, superficial young men, whose only occupation is gallantry, and whose polished manners render vice more dangerous, by concealing its deformity under gay ornamental drapery. An air of fashion, which is but a badge of slavery, and proves that the soul has not a strong individual character, awes simple country people into an imitation of the vices, when they cannot catch the slippery graces of politeness. Every corps is a chain of despots, who, submitting and tyrannizing without exercising their reason, become dead weights of vice and folly on the community. A man of rank or fortune, sure of rising by interest, has nothing to do but to pursue some extravagant freak; whilst the needy gentleman who is to rise, as the phrase turns, by his merit, becomes a servile parasite or vile panderer.

Sailors, the naval gentlemen, come under the same description, only their vices assume a different and grosser cast. They are more positively indolent, when not discharging the ceremonials of their station; whilst the insignificant fluttering of soldiers may be termed active idleness. More confined to the society of men, the former acquire a fondness for humor and mischievous tricks; whilst the latter, mixing frequently with well-bred women, catch a sentimental cant. But mind is equally out of the question, whether they indulge the horse-laugh or polite simper.

May I be allowed to extend the comparison to a profession where more mind is certainly to be found; for the clergy have superior opportunities of improvement, though subordination almost equally cramps their faculties? The blind submission imposed at college to forms of belief, serves as a noviciate to the curate who most obsequiously respects the opinion of his rector or patron, if he means to rise in his profession. Perhaps there cannot be a more forcible contrast than between the servile, dependent gait of a poor curate, and the courtly mien of a bishop. And the respect and contempt they inspire render the discharge of their separate functions equally useless.

It is of great importance to observe, that the character of every man is, in some degree, formed by his profession. A man of sense may only have a cast of countenance that wears off as you trace his individuality, whilst the weak, common man has scarcely ever any character, but what belongs to the body; at least, all his opinions have been so steeped in the fruit consecrated by authority, that the faint spirit which the grape of his own vine yields cannot be distinguished.

Society, therefore, as it becomes more enlightened, should be very careful not to establish bodies of men who must necessarily be made foolish or vicious by the very constitution of their profession.

In the infancy of society, when men were just emerging out of barbarism, chiefs and priests, touching the most powerful springs of savage conduct—hope and fear—must have had unbounded sway. An aristocracy, of course, is naturally the first form of government. But clashing interests soon losing their equipoise, a monarchy and hierarchy break out of the confusion of ambitious struggles, and the foundation of both is secured by feudal tenures. This appears to be the origin of monarchical and priestly power, and the dawn of civilization. But such combustible materials cannot long be pent up; and getting vent in foreign wars and intestine insurrections, the people acquire some power in the tumult, which obliges their rulers to gloss over their oppression with a show of right. Thus, as wars, agriculture, commerce, and literature expands the mind, despots are compelled, to make covert corruption hold fast the power which was formerly snatched by open force. And this baneful lurking gangrene is most quickly spread by luxury and superstition, the sure drugs of ambition. The indolent puppet of a court first becomes a luxurious monster, or fastidious sensualist, and then makes the contagion which his unnatural state spreads, the instrument of tyranny.

It is the pestiferous purple which renders the progress of civilization a curse, and warps the understanding, till men of sensibility doubt whether the expansion of intellect produces a greater portion of happiness or misery. But the nature of the poison points out the antidote; and had Rousseau mounted one step higher in his investigation; or could his eye have pierced through the foggy atmosphere, which he almost disdained to

\*Men of abilities scatter seeds that grow up, and have a great influence on the forming opinion; and when once the public opinion preponderates through the exertion of reason, the overthrow of arbitrary power is not very distant.

breathe, his active mind would have darted forward to contemplate the perfection of man in the establishment of true civilization, instead of taking his ferocious flight back to the night of sensual ignorance.

(To be Continued.)

## WHAT THE PRESS SAYS OF US.

From the Commercial Advertiser, New York.

"THE REVOLUTION."—This paper, the organ of the Women Suffrage movement, and edited by Mrs. Stanton and Parker Pillsbury, has now reached the age of five months, and is as lively a child as was ever reared. It is independent, chatty, personal and intensely self-conscious. Its notices from the press, both good and bad, it parades and comments upon in the spirit in which they are uttered. It has a thoroughly Amazonian liking for a fight.

And like all lively, willful children, everybody is telling us to subside. We have more sympathy than ever with poor "little Johnny," whose fidgety mother is continually saying "don't do this," "don't do that," for everybody seems to be in a state of chronic alarm lest "THE REVOLUTION" should do or say something it should not. One says, "let politics alone; just talk Woman's Suffrage;" as if this demand, and all the arguments to maintain it, did not lead us at once into that forbidden realm. Another says, "for Heaven's sake, let political economy alone. What does a woman know of finance, capital and labor, free trade and protection? Talk about women's work and wages." Just as if woman, taxed to pay the public debt, taxed for every foreign product she eats and wears, and paying double for everything made at home, the victim of monopolists, capitalists and bondholders equally with man, should not inform herself on all these points. If woman knows nothing about these questions, then that is the very reason we should discuss them in "THE REVOLUTION." Another says, "do let the church alone;" as if it were not our duty to give woman's interpretation of Paul, and to demand her right to speak and vote in the church. Another says, "don't touch the social question, don't unveil the privacy of home, pray let there be something left on the earth too sacred for comment in our daily journals;" as if public peace and purity were not wholly dependent on private virtue and strength. It is only by unveiling the vices and abominations of our social life, and purifying the fountains of our being, that we can build a stable government. "Righteousness exalteth a nation." We hope our honored friend, Mr. Weed, will not think we fight for the love of it. He knows we came from a most peaceable, law-abiding stock, but if, to maintain freedom, fight is necessary, why, then, we fight, and with the immortal Patrick Henry we say, "Give me liberty or give me death." We publish the comments of the press as a matter of history, for the women of the next generation to see the crude notions that the men of our day have on woman; so let all those editors who wish to stand well with the thinking minds of the next century write themselves up, in a clear, concise and able manner on this question, and we will be happy to hand them down in "THE REVOLUTION," for if we are worthy the attention of the Talleyrand of our age at five months, what distinction may we not hope for ourselves in five years to come.

From the Owego (N. Y.) Gazette.

"THE REVOLUTION."—Its speciality is "Woman's Rights" respecting voting and holding office; and it must be confessed it is bringing out some very ably written and forcible arguments in favor of what it claims to be the Rights of Woman. It is a neatly printed and well-conducted paper, and however we may differ with some of its notions, we read it always with interest, and wish it success.

We will venture to say that if you should undertake to write out your opposing opinions, you would convince yourself that "THE REVOLUTION" is sound in all its opinions. Suppose you try.

From the Argus and Patriot, Montpelier, Vt.

"THE REVOLUTION" has an able corps of editors, and is really a sprightly paper. It is a very neatly printed quarto, and the articles are remarkable for pith and pungency. It is thoroughly independent of "everything and everybody," and tells many truths respecting social errors, and fooling fashions.

Verily, it takes an argus-eyed Patriot to scan our many virtues. This independence of "everybody and everything," representing no party, organization or sect is the secret of our being "sprightly, pithy and pungent," and yet everybody is trying to clip our wings, and thus leave us shorn of our strength. When a man sits down to write, if, instead of saying what he thinks himself, he stops to point out what "Brown, Smith and Jones" think, knowing that they will rap him over the head if he gets outside the conventional leading strings, he might as well not write at all, for these worthy gentlemen only represent what has been said a thousand times before. There is no one thing the age needs so much as the courage to think, and utter what we think. We can hardly estimate the loss to human progress, in this slavery of opinion to one another, in this wholesale blotting out of individual thought and judgment. When we remember that the human mind is as varied as the face, and that each soul is a combination of powers and passions, such as never has been before, and never will be again, we see the vast importance of sacredly guarding from all danger and interference individual life, thought and opinions. Remember the lives that are sacrificed to our ignorance, selfishness, or cupidity, are bricks out of place in the world's architecture, that endanger alike the capstone and the base, and ideas struggling for utterance, that are repressed through fear of ridicule and scorn, are broken links in the chain of thought that make discord and confusion in all our lives.

From the Cleveland (Ohio) Evening Times.

"THE REVOLUTION" has a female reporter who is a first-class short-hand writer, and who attends all public meetings of importance. She is rather pretty withal, and dresses neatly (debaring a shockingly bad hat) in black, abhors hoops, and sports as handsome a shoe as will be met in a day's walk on Broadway.

Have you seen her pass that way?

From the Tioga County Agitator, Willsboro, Pa.

"THE REVOLUTION" is a neatly printed and vigorously conducted weekly journal. The object of this paper, as stated in its motto, is above criticism, but is, we notice, a shining mark for ridicule. However, a perusal of the leading articles and correspondence convinces us that the enterprise cannot be laughed down. The writers are too much in earnest; they are too able; they are too well accustomed to ridicule to surrender to such a foe. We believe in the object of "THE REVOLUTION."

Forgive him! the poor "white male" uses "ridicule" because he has no argument. There is no weapon more powerful than this. With it the weakest hand can stab kings and emperors. Napoleon, though he conquered Europe, was more afraid of Madame De Stael's bon mots than of the combined forces of England, Russia and Austria, and yet a handful of strong-minded American women have faced the ridicule of the world for a quarter of a century without wincing. Proof that they are in earnest and that they do not stand alone; for they whose feet are based on principle are linked with the great and good of all ages, and God is their Father.



From the New Bedford (Conn.) Record.

"THE REVOLUTION" is the organ of the "Woman's Rights" agitators. It urges the importance of female suffrage with a pertinacity worthy of a better, or at least more reasonable cause. All the evils, fancied or real, to which women are subjected, are laid to the charge of men who withhold from them the much desired suffrage.

What better cause is there than to decide the status of a citizen of the republic, and what more reasonable than the right to own yourself, your children, your property and wages? Think again.

From the Olean (N. Y.) Times.

"THE REVOLUTION," as its name indicates, is "Radical" and Revolutionary in sentiment, that is to say, a generation in advance of its time. Conservatism is startled by its utterances, but men and women of conscience, of thought and purpose, will readily recognize its mission, and approve its object. It contains sixteen three-column pages weekly, teeming with live, glowing coils of thought and deed. Two dollars per year.

If priests, politicians and a time-serving press would only take their heels from the necks of the people, you would soon see that the age is now ready for our utterances. Instead of writing for your subscribers what you think will please them, write what they should know, what you think in your best moments, when your soul rises above all worldly considerations, and in communion with Great Nature touches the Invisible, the Infinite. Why is it that those who lead their age should always cheat the world of their best thoughts? The common saying that "the people are not ready for it" is fraught with mischief. When God gives any one of us a new truth, it is not ours to keep but to utter, and if we are not faithful, our souls are darkened, and truth finds other messengers.

From the Peninsular Herald, Detroit, Mich.

"THE REVOLUTION," as will readily be inferred from the title and motto, is the organ of the Female Suffrage movement which is now fast gaining favor among the thinking people of this country. Sin had plunged human nature to a fearful depth, and society rises to its normal condition only by slow yet certain movements. Woman, the first to fall, is the last to rise to the possession of all her natural rights and to her proper rank in society. We cordially welcome "THE REVOLUTION" to our exchange list, and cheerfully bid it good speed in its mission of moral and political reform.

Woman, the mother of the race, must first be lifted up before man can know his normal condition, as in her degradation man has tasted shame, and misery, and death, so in her exaltation, shall he be regenerated and redeemed. The very first step in the progress of mankind lies in the education of women. So long as she is ignorant and depraved, the march of civilization is blocked by vice and superstition. We think if the *Peninsular* will reconsider the creation, fall, and redemption of the race in the light of science, he will see that the sexes are a simultaneous creation, and have kept side by side in the gradual development of the species, acting and reacting on each other. And in subordinating women as he has, in the reign of brute force, man has equally degraded and perverted his own nature.

From the Androscoggin (Me.) Herald.

"THE REVOLUTION" is a handsome paper, and is edited with a great deal of energy and pluck.

From the N. Y. Independent.

It is with much surprise that we have noticed how "THE REVOLUTION," a journal which at first promised to be more than commonly radical, has been lately growing Conservative, Democratic, and Johnsonian. For some time past its editorial columns have been persistently advocating the return of the rebel states to the Union on the policy originally announced by Andrew Johnson, and afterwards by the Cleveland Convention, and Mr. Beecher's letter to it—the policy of not securing

any guarantees, in advance, for negro suffrage—the policy of bringing in the states first, and settling the suffrage question afterward. Its editorial columns have also been inculcating what it calls "educated suffrage;" that is, suffrage based on ability to read and write—in face of the fact that suffrage is itself the educator—and in face of the fact that a nation which for two generations made it a crime for a black man to possess a spelling book, cannot, without mockery or meanness, compel that black man to read before it permits him to vote. If these editorial views, thus put forth by "THE REVOLUTION," had not come from radical abolitionists, as Mrs. Stanton and Mr. Pillsbury have heretofore been, we would not now be so surprised. But we had a right to expect of the "Old Guard" never to give up the battle. It is always a pitiable sight when any of the old sentinels on the watch-tower forget that "the price of liberty is eternal vigilance."—N. Y. Independent

It is evident Mr. Editor, that you read no part of "THE REVOLUTION" but the prospectus, and only the first word of that. If you had given quotations from our columns, to prove, that we are growing "Conservative, Democratic, Johnsonian," your readers would have had some proof of the truth of your assertions, as it is, they have your word for it, nothing more.

#### WHAT THE PEOPLE SAY TO US.

ONEIDA CASTLE, N. Y., June 1, 1868.

DEAR MRS. STANTON: You are discussing from week to week the various phases of the woman question with so much tact, facility, and courtesy too, doing a work which we women are so glad to have done, that it seems almost like ill-nature to criticise you. And how much easier would it be for me to go down into the depths of human suffering, and thereby help to awaken the sympathy of your readers, than to perform so thankless a task. How much pleasanter to dwell upon noble examples of heroism, of which the world is full, upon patience and endurance all Divine, thus stimulating the determination in the same direction in the minds of others. But as yet I have felt constrained to address you on other topics.

"THE REVOLUTION" must appear genuine, I am sure, even to anointed eyes, it contains so much gold, worth far more than "139½" and all, too, for the genuine adorning of woman, and for the enriching of man with riches incorruptible. But with so much to approve and to admire, I still see and lament what I term your unphilosophical claim for woman—that she shall be enfranchised first—as you say, "educated women first, ignorant men afterward." The recent action of Michigan and several other states, denying suffrage to colored men, has forcibly brought this subject to my mind again; and as considerable time has elapsed since it was discussed in your columns, will you allow me now to present a few objections to the doctrine you seek to establish.

Your very kind and pleasant reply to my first letter, for which I thank you, contained a plausible defence of your position, but I thought, that in it, you abandoned the ground of natural right, of absolute justice, and reasoned from the stand-point of expediency. This was more noticeable from the fact that you have so long been identified with a school that goes down to first principles, and troubles itself but little about the results of right doing, leaving consequences to be settled by a Higher Power.

You find the equilibrium of the world destroyed because man is everywhere so largely represented and woman to so small an extent, and you address yourself to the work of restoring that equilibrium by enfranchising woman first, seeming to forget that human freedom, like the other great interests of mankind is a subject of growth, of natural development, and belongs to an immutable order of things. There are cases where freedom has grown so large as to be an overmatch for oppression and the bonds are but nominal. There are fetters so nearly sundered that a slight blow will break them. Shall we inquire if these kind men or women, and if the former try to weld them anew that those of the latter may be broken first?

Suppose it takes a generation to settle this woman question (it will not, for the battle was half fought by the abolitionists), shall the loyal, disfranchised men whose right to the ballot is already in the arena of politics be kept out of their inheritance all that time, because we are despoiled of ours? Some of them are educated, wealthy, living continually the lives of noble men, shall we say to them, stand back, turn again into the rugged paths of proscription! We forbid you to go up higher

because we cannot go! I cannot for a moment imagine you endorsing the recent repudiation of colored suffrage by Connecticut, Ohio, and those states to which it has been submitted, and yet the result accords with your philosophy. Woman's claim to the ballot is not ripe for settlement in those states at present, therefore must the colored man still endure his degradation, still chafe at the tyranny and injustice of his political oppressor. Standing on the broadest possible platform, and professing the highest aims, embracing in our philanthropy the whole human race, how can we make any invidious distinctions, or cast the slightest obstacle in the path of any human soul struggling to be free. To do this would be perpetuating the inconsistency of man which you so justly deplore as in the case of Disraeli at the present time.

If I were discussing consequences instead of principles, I think I could show you that your doctrine carried out would be most disastrous. First, it would check the tide of emigration and materially injure the prosperity of the country, it would cripple and retard the cause of freedom all over the world, it would so deepen the disaffection of the disfranchised classes that at length their sense of wrong would naturally disclose itself in fearful and sanguinary retribution. And all this without any claim on their part that they should be first enfranchised, but simply that when the ballot seemed almost within their grasp it was suddenly withdrawn, snatched away by this new philosophy. Go now, in spring time, to the hill-side or the woodland, and place your injunction upon the bursting seeds and expanding flowers—"Not another bud or blossom here until the royal queen of summer shall come to bless the earth with her beauty and her fragrance!" Forbid the mission of the inventive spirit of the age until perpetual motion can be discovered, but do not ask the Father with all the pride of manhood upon him, now goaded to madness by the trifling, the indecision and selfishness of politicians, and then waiting with sublime forbearance for the acknowledgment of his right to the franchises of the government, do not ask him that the day of his redemption be delayed, until the badge of sovereignty can be bestowed upon his wife and daughter, for the idea of their political freedom did not take root so early as his, although its growth is vigorous now.

You say it is woman's first duty to break the yoke that galls her own neck, and I would add that it is her duty at the same time to rid herself of all responsibility for the bondage of others. "The Deity pours his blessing only into clean vessels." Woman's first duty is to cultivate in herself a spirit so true, not to woman, but to humanity, that all will recognize its likeness to Him who came to preach deliverance to the captive, and the opening of prison doors, not to woman first, but alike to all who are bound. If God planted inalienable rights in every soul, among which is self-protection, represented in this country by the ballot, what business have we to withhold it for a moment from any one of mature age, of either sex, or of any color or condition, on the ground that such party or parties are already too largely represented, or indeed on any other ground, unless it has been forfeited by high misdemeanor?

The work obviously before us is a faithful testimony against inequality, let it exist where it may—wherever we see a chain, try to break it; wherever we see oppression, strive to crush it; rebuke the spirit of caste in high places and in low places; be ever vigilant and zealous in behalf of liberal principles and individual rights, and however much the state, the church, or the freemasonry seem to ignore our words or our work, yet the day of emancipation will come to all, sooner or later, as it has come to others, and the order of the procession to be enfranchised, if I may be allowed such a figure, will form, as in time past, in accordance with laws, not be overcome or resisted. One may complain that it embraces too many white men, another too many colored men, some that there are too many women, others too many Irish and people of other nationalities, those who would be first may be last, and the last first, but there it is, a fixed fact, no more to be changed than the procession of the Equinoxes or the geological systems of the earth, for it is an outgrowth of free principles, an expression of the political and moral forces of the nation, just as the others are expressions of terrestrial forces. It matters not what is the immediate cause of the emancipation of any class, on the part of rulers, it may be policy or principle, it may be craftiness, military necessity, fear of an element of discontent, yet the times were ripe for the change else it could not be established.

You appear to think that conferring the ballot upon man would retard its bestowal upon woman, I cannot see it in this light. On the other hand, a blow against tyranny anywhere, is felt everywhere. The breaking of a brother's bonds loosens our own. The triumph of



freedom over any form of intolerance and proscription advances woman a step in the scale of being. And this is true even though the class liberated may be the vilest despots that ever lived. Was there no gain to the world in Puritanism because it banished Roger Williams and hung Mary Dyer? Was there no gain in American Independence because Americans enslaved Africans? These were steps, advance movements in the progress of the race, not prevented by the inconsistencies or the crimes of their adherents. A man may preach righteousness and be himself a cast-away as St. Paul intimates, and the righteousness will be available to mankind. We might from selfish considerations alone press the question of manhood suffrage, as our surest way to freedom is over broken fetters, it is by a path which a multitude have trodden.

You will not, I am sure, misunderstand me. I yield to no one, not even yourself, in a positive and emphatic demand for Woman Suffrage now, but my demand is equally imperative for all disfranchised classes. I would not ask a natural right for myself that I would withhold from another for a moment, my moral sense would convict me of cowardice or despotism for so doing.

The equilibrium of sex must be restored in the government you say. We are now tempest-tossed in an uncertain sea, men at the helm need the spiritual intuitions of women, etc. This is all true, doubtless, but the graphic sketch you made reminds one very forcibly of the representations of a political party in a Presidential canvass, with this exception, the parties are more generous toward each other than the representatives of your doctrine can be toward their competitors. The democrats declare, at this moment, and very likely they believe, that the republican policy is destructive of the best interests of the nation, they deprecate the "incoming tide of ignorance, poverty and vice to legislate at the polls," they say the party in power are "steering without chart or compass," but that their party understand "the nation's dangers and man's need," they have all "the charts spread out before them," they "know all the dangerous coasts and isles," and if they can only be put into power, if they can but reach the deck and lay hold of the ropes and sails, we shall soon enter into smooth waters where the royal ship will ride in safety. But I have yet to hear of the first democrat who proposes to withhold the elective franchise from the republican party, until it shall be seen what the "skilled hands" of democrats can do in this hour of the nation's trial. Of course you say, that is a settled thing, each party expects the other to vote, it is settled by law and custom. Is it not just as fully settled in our minds upon principle that the ballot belongs to all alike, and shall not principle lead us into a path as true and as just toward our competitors, as that in which the rank and file of that strata of manhood walk by virtue of law and custom?

I know you say the franchise "is not a question of necessary precedence for one class or the other." Why, then, make it a question of precedence, and say "educated women first, ignorant men afterward?" Again you say, "our demand has long been suffrage for all, white and black, male and female, of legal age and sound mind," but in speaking of manhood suffrage you also declare, "we have enough of that already. We say no, another man, black or white, until woman is inside the citadel." Let me quote again from your figure of the ship of state. "To us it would be the height of wisdom for such women to rush on deck and say, let not another man come up to touch the ropes until those more skilled have tried what they can do," thus continually making it a question of precedence, and not only that but demanding that woman shall have an opportunity to try their skill, while disfranchised men are still kept down in the vessel's hold. This savors a little too much of the tyranny of man which reveals itself in such huge proportions to the eye of "THE REVOLUTION."

My article is too long for your paper, but not wishing to refer to this topic again, you will, perhaps, pardon its length. Controversy is so distasteful to me that I have written with pain rather than pleasure; and I have addressed you alone, as I have reason to believe your associate editor is thoroughly orthodox on the subject of human freedom.

Thanking you again for your noble work, and trusting that we shall yet see eye to eye on the above point of difference, I remain gratefully yours,

J. ELIZABETH JONES.

To all of which we say that suffrage is a natural right, as free to man and woman under government as air and motion to life. We have said again and again, before all Israel and the sun, that we demand UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE, that we repudiate all qualifications of property, education, color, sex. But when republicans and

abolitionists claim that it is a political right, that citizens are to be enfranchised by classes, that "this is the negro's hour," then leaving the ground of principle, because they will not meet us there, and coming down to their low ground of expediency, we say "educated women first, ignorant men afterward." And for this position we have two good reasons.

1. In a republican government, where the people make the laws, the intelligence and virtue of the country should primarily be represented at the ballot-box. It is a dangerous strain on our institutions to reverse this order and welcome all shades and types of manhood at the polls, while we exclude the wealth, virtue, and intelligence of the women of the nation.

2. As man represents but half an idea, we must in the nature of things, so long as he rules alone, have a fragmentary government.

Until society is made whole by lifting women to her rightful throne, by the union of the sexes, in political, religious, and social life, we shall continue to have a one-sided, wicked legislation, war, violence, fraud, and all manner of abominations. When society in Oregon and California, being chiefly male, was rapidly tending to savagism, would it have improved matters to have sent out ship loads of black men? Not at all. We sent women, and order and decency were soon restored to life. Just what woman is to man socially that is she to him morally, spiritually, intellectually. It is because the feminine element does not assert itself in government, that Washington to-day is a whirlpool of corruption, and the nation staggers for its lack of public honor and integrity. In saying this we do not claim that woman is better than man, for if she had exclusive jurisdiction, we should still have a fragmentary legislation, with a different class of evils perhaps, but evils nevertheless. But what we claim is, that the sexes have an elevating, restraining influence on each other. Go into a room where a dozen men are talking together, and you will find that conversation is not as high-toned as when educated women are present, just so when a dozen women are alone, the conversation is not so elevated as when educated men are present. We see that civilization would be more rapidly advanced by the enfranchisement of the women of this nation than that of the Indian, Chinese or African races. While we would not delay the enfranchisement of the black man a single hour, when Wendell Phillips tells woman to stand aside, that the black man has precedence, it is legitimate to show these Saxon men that for the elevation of their own race and the safety of the republic, they need women more than black men at the helm of government in this crisis of our nation's history. As the greater includes the less, when we demand UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE we help, rather than retard, the black man's enfranchisement, and those who make the narrow claim of manhood suffrage, defeat the end they would secure. Claim the uttermost and you will get something.

Editors of the Revolution:

HAVING just returned from the annual meeting of "Friends of Human Progress," near Waterloo, N. Y., I send you some account thereof, for publication. The attendance, this year, was not as large as some previous years, partly owing to a change in the time of holding it, and partly to deficient notice. I believe the *Anti-Slavery Standard* was the only paper which contained the notice; and as its circulation is quite limited, even among reformers, many did not know of the change, nor of the arrangements, generally. From this cause, your correspondent was only present the last day of the meeting. Among the speakers were Mrs. Lucy Stone, C. D. B. Mills, A. M. Powell, William Denton, Mrs. S. A.

Strobridge, C. L. Remond, C. A. Hammond, and others. Joshua Hutchinson gave the music.

The proceedings were characterized by earnest thought and eloquent and effective utterance. Resolutions were adopted severely censuring the action of the Chicago Convention for remitting the question of suffrage in "the loyal States" to the present voters in those States, and also condemning the so-called democratic party for its past and still-persisted-in treachery to the principles of true democracy.

The meeting took decided ground for Woman Suffrage; but I am sorry to say that, though your correspondent made an earnest effort to interest the people present in "THE REVOLUTION," some of the speakers threw cold water on his efforts—ostensibly on account of your connection with Mr. Train—and not one among them all had an encouraging word to say in your behalf, and I failed to get a single subscriber at the meeting. Verily, the narrowness and intolerance of some of our reformers is past all comprehension.

I think there is a vein of conservatism among such which causes them to make the old issues still paramount after they have ceased to be practically living-questions. One speaker, a colored man, denounced Mr. Train as a much smaller man than any negro in this country. And some women seemed to think you had better never have started the paper than to have accepted such help as his in starting it.

Woman's *forte*, in the estimation of such women, seems to be *self-sacrifice*; until we can have an organ without being beholden to any but Simon pure old abolitionists for its existence, they seem to think their cause can wait; and that they are commending their *Anti-Slavery*—after slavery is dead and buried—by turning their backs upon the live men and women who appreciate the situation and march bravely on to storm the next stronghold of despotism. Rip Van Winkles are not all of the male persuasion. Yet the president of this progressive meeting was a woman, Mrs. L. A. Strobridge, of Cortland, N. Y.

Yours truly, C. A. H.  
Peterboro, N. Y., June 8, 1861.

ON BOARD STEAMER D. S. MAGEE,  
Seneca Lake, June 5th, 1868.

DEAR "REVOLUTION": Returning from the Waterloo yearly meeting of the Friends of Human Progress, I find a few leisure moments while steaming up this beautiful lake, and propose to give you a random sketch of what was said there. \* \* \* J. K. Ingalls presented the subject of "Capital and Labor," tracing the source of all slavery, corruption and social wrong, to the subordination of man to wealth, of the laborer to the productions of his own toil. He insisted that the power conferred upon money by our laws and customs, derived from the barbaric ages, to hold the land, and to accumulate interest or insurance, was the present source of every form of oppression, compelling the assent of those it despoiled, and saturating the whole atmosphere of every commercial and industrial field with selfishness, envy and pride. That it holds out encouragement to every species of fraud and corruption and punishes honesty and integrity with poverty and shame.

He held, with Andrew Smith, in his "Wealth of Nations," that property was derived but from one source, human labor, and that our system, which enabled one man to appropriate the earnings of thousands, established caste and privilege, which differed from Eastern despotism and chattel slavery, only in the subtlety of its form; while its power to debase and starve its victims was unequalled. He would instance, within the current year, deaths by starvation in all the principal cities of Europe, and of our own country, among people anxious and willing to work. In Algiers, which Napoleon III. has so recently blessed with civilization, it is reported that they have buried the dead by starvation in trenches, as they do the slaughtered on the field of battle. He gave us a remedy for all these evils:

1st. Land Limitation.

2d. Repeal of all usury laws, in which he included all laws for the collection of interest in any form. And as a formula for the solution of the Labor and Capital question, he gave to labor the entire products of industry, subject only to the charge of keeping good the condition of the soil, and considering the value of all capital productively employed. He then offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That, as friends of Human Progress, we can but express our deep interest in the discussion of the question, now engaging the attention of the working people of this country, in regard to the existing relations between capital and labor; realizing that its just solution must result in restoring labor to the dignity which Nature accords it, equalizing its awards without discrimination on account of sex or race.



Mr. Hammond gave notice that he would receive subscriptions for "THE REVOLUTION," when Charles Remond said, that since that paper had been published, he had been traversing the interior of the State, and had scarcely seen a number of it; but understood that the esteemed friends who conducted it had associated themselves with George Francis Train, whom he regarded as an enemy to the enfranchisement of the colored race. He did not see how they could enter into any such arrangement without injuring their past record. \* \* \*

Yours truly,

J. K. G.

Did Charles Remond ever refuse to extend the right hand of fellowship to an earnest worker in the Anti-Slavery cause, because he was not in favor of the enfranchisement of woman? Would he refuse to extend the circulation of an anti-slavery paper, if Benjamin F. Butler furnished the means to publish it, because in times past he had been opposed to the emancipation and enfranchisement of the negro? Is it not perfectly consistent with the record of the editors of "THE REVOLUTION" to remember the two million black women in the land of bondage, when abolitionists threw them overboard? Does Mr. Remond know that when the Joint Resolutions of Schenck, Jenckes and Broomhall, for the amendment of the constitution were under consideration four years ago, that the word "male" was introduced expressly to avoid the calamity of enfranchising all the black women of the south? The only word that was uttered in the *Anti-Slavery Standard* against the outrage was penned by the editors of "THE REVOLUTION," and they were rebuked for doing it, both by republicans and abolitionists. There is nothing in our past record to show that our love to humanity was ever wholly circumscribed to black men. We have demanded his rights, not because he was a man or black, but because he belonged to the human family; and the same love of the race impels us to-day to demand the same rights for the woman by his side, for the multitudes of young girls in all our cities asking for work and wages, and widows and orphans struggling for a foothold in this whirlpool of vice and corruption, with no strong arm to shelter or protect. The same sense of justice impels us to-day to demand of our government to protect our Irish citizens, unjustly held in British dungeons, while the press of the country is silent and indifferent to the outrage. The fact is, our abolitionists are so sectarian to-day that they see nothing but that small fraction of humanity, the "black man," and any of their members who dare open their eyes to anything beyond are ostracised at once. There never was anything more bigoted and malicious than the hostility of abolitionists to "THE REVOLUTION" and its editors; and yet all their stabs are given in the name of religion, with a pious cant about the "defection" of those who see beyond their horizon. Human nature is the same in all ages. The same spirit that burnt Servetus, that condemned Luther, that beheaded Charles II., that hung Quakers and witches in Massachusetts, that mobbed abolitionists, that arraigns Dr. Tyng before an ecclesiastical court for preaching in a Methodist pulpit, the same wicked spirit maligns and persecutes the editors of "THE REVOLUTION" to-day, because they demand the immediate enfranchisement of woman, the recognition of every citizen of the United States in the reconstruction, and have accepted aid from George Francis Train, the only man in the nation who offered it, in order to accomplish their work.

THE LADIES OF NYACK.

NYACK, June 6th, 1868.

MISS ANTHONY: I noticed the complimentary remarks,

concerning the ladies of Nyack, which you were pleased to make as a comment upon my short note of the 15th inst., which appeared in "THE REVOLUTION" of May 28. Allow me, in their behalf, to present you their most sincere thanks.

I have long been a faithful reader of your paper, it having been taken, through our newsdealer, for some time by the Young Men's Christian Union, of which I have the honor of being president.

It would be unnecessary for me to tell you that I am an admirer of your paper, and of the glorious cause which it advocates, as my note of the 15th has already apprised you of the fact. I could speak words of cheer and comfort if they were needed, but I know that no one is better informed than yourself, of the fact that at this moment the world at heart favors your cause and is desirous of its triumph.

Each mail from England tells us that the political enfranchisement of woman is taking strong hold of public opinion, and that throughout the length and breadth of that little, but mighty, island there is a growing sentiment in favor of liberty and justice; while in our own land almost every city and village has its public advocate of equal rights. The day cannot be distant in which the whole human family shall behold all their rights acknowledged and respected, when we shall gaze upon the longed for isonomy.

Sincerely and respectfully yours,

FREDERIC R. MARVIN.

The following are extracts from a communication in "THE REVOLUTION" of May 7th, under the caption, "Restellism," etc.:

"Half a dozen children in every Irish family. Only two in the modern American family. What is the matter? Answer—Restellism. That is why."

"Mothers and fathers should teach their children the meaning of words. Tell them that the delirium tremens is the result of that first glass."

"The clubs of New York are demoralizing our young men as much as Mercer street."

"Every party, every serenade, adds to the list of drunkards."

Down with the "only one glass of wine for dinner." Down with the race-course associations."

Is such nonsensical stuff suited to the columns of "THE REVOLUTION," a paper dedicated to intellectuality as opposed to puritanical superstitions?

Every person of common sense and intelligence knows that it is not mainly abortion which reduces the number of children in the modern American family to two; but it is the general physical disability of American women, induced by and inherited from the foolish habits of fashionable society.

If delirium tremens is the result of "the first glass," then, suicide and accidental death from poisonous drugs is the result of the first homoeopathic dose administered to the infant. If not, why not?

If we must down with clubs, balls, parties, race-courses and the one glass of wine at dinner, because they are sometimes prostituted to intemperance and debauchery—though they are harmless in themselves—then we must down with temperance meetings, churches and sewing circles, which are nearly as harmless in themselves, here, and perhaps necessary for our salvation hereafter, because they are prostituted to fashion, display, jealousy, envy and all uncharitableness.

Jovial, social intercourse—and it matters not whether it be over "the one glass of wine at dinner," the club house, ball room, race-course, or elsewhere—is essential to moral and intellectual progress.

Churches and religious meetings are equally essential to a religious sentiment necessary to some persons for their present happiness, inasmuch, as in it lies their only hope of heaven. That contemptible love of dress and fashion which carries with it deceit, envy and jealousy, is the sin to be battered down, and not the walls of the church in which it is so generally and so disgustingly displayed.

So also, drunkenness, debauchery and delirium tremens, is the sin to be battled against, and not the God-given, recuperative pleasure of the social circle, the serenade and the jovial board.

True, the sooner we turn public thought from the repression of the effects of vice to a consideration of its causes, the sooner we shall reach the desired result. So long as every physical law is violated in the education of children, we shall reap harvests of murderers, thieves, liars and drunkards. The morbid appetites for rum and tobacco are the result of ill health, from over-work on one side, and no

work on the other. There is only one way to lift men above these low pleasures, and that is by substituting something better. If all the money and thought that have been expended in repressing intemperance had been used in building and adorning homes and gardens for the poor, and educating the nation into the true interests of capital and labor, we should to-day be rejoicing in the rapid decline of intemperance, vice and crime, and in the recreation of a new order of men and women. When the conditions of society are so false that mothers kill their own children, the trouble lies deeper down than "Restellism." Look through nature and we find even among the brute creation the strongest of all animal affections is that of the mother for her offspring; and when we add to this the tenderness of the human soul, it is invincible, capable of any degree of self-sacrifice for the child of her love. What perverts these holy affections, what is it that thus poisons the fountains of life? These are the questions for reformers and philosophers to solve. Prohibitory laws and the imprisonments of the Madames Restell do not remedy drunkenness or child murder; they do not touch the case. We must by wise legislation protect the interests of the masses, end the antagonism between capital and labor, and thus prevent the extremes of poverty and wealth. So long as one man holds thousands of broad acres, and hoards his millions, hundreds by his side must be defrauded, and his own nature hardened and perverted.

#### WOMAN'S RIGHTS IN CALIFORNIA.

As from the near approach of the completion of the great Continental Railroad, the Pacific Slope is now more than ever attracting the attention of the masses, I have thought that a succinct statement of the law regulating the relations of husband and wife in California might be acceptable to your journal and of benefit to its numerous readers, and shall therefore proceed, as briefly as possible, to detail the same.

##### I.—OF MARRIAGE.

Marriage is considered as a civil contract. A license must first be procured of the County Clerk, whereupon the priest, minister, or civil officer who may perform the ceremony makes his return to the Clerk's office, and the same is duly entered in the Register of marriages.

There are penalties annexed for marrying males under twenty-one, or females under eighteen, without the consent of their parents or guardians; also for performing the ceremony without a license.

However, there is no doubt but that an actual marriage—i. e., a contract made in the presence of witnesses, without either a license or the intervention of an ecclesiastical or civil officer, would be valid in law, although the parties guilty of the irregularity would be liable to the penalties prescribed.

It sometimes has happened that the female under the prescribed age, being unable to obtain the parental sanction, has eloped with the man of her choice, and taken to the ocean, being sure to pass at least one marine league from the shore, and there, without the jurisdiction of the state, and without the requisite license, in the presence of their accompanying party, been united by the proper official.

An instance of this kind has occurred within the last month, the bridegroom being a respectable and well-to-do young farmer, of Santa Clara county, and the bride a farmer's daughter of the same locality, just under the prescribed age.

The "steam-tug" soon took them through the "Golden Gate" and out among the rolling waves of the Pacific, the sea being so rough as to render the company sea sick, except the bride.

After the knot had been duly fastened, the new made husband and wife returned to their home, no doubt to receive the parental blessing.

##### II.—OF DIVORCE.

There are six causes of divorce given by our law. I will state them briefly, without copying the statute at length.

1. Natural impotence existing at the time of marriage



2. When the female was under fourteen at the time of marriage and had not the consent of her parents, and has not ratified it since she has attained that age.

3. Adultery in either party—where there has been no collusion, or condonation.

4. Extreme cruelty, habitual intemperance, wilful desertion for the period of two years, neglect by husband for three years to provide for his family.

5. When the consent of either of the parties to the marriage was obtained by force or fraud.

6. The conviction of either party of felony where the punishment is not less than two years imprisonment.

Nearly all the divorces are sought for and granted under the 3d and 4th subdivisions above stated, and a majority under the latter.

## III.—RIGHTS OF PROPERTY.

All property owned by the wife at the time of marriage, and all that she may afterwards acquire by gift or devise, remains her separate property, which, however, remains under the control and management of the husband.

Should the husband, however, prove unfaithful to his trust, mismanage or waste her property, she may proceed and have a trustee appointed to take charge of it, who must give bonds, etc., and pay over the proceeds to the husband and wife, or either of them, the income and profits of the wife's estate.

All property acquired after marriage by either husband or wife, except such as may be acquired by gift, devise, bequest, or descent, is common property.

Upon the dissolution of the marriage by death, the separate of the wife is retained by her, and she has also one half of the common property; the other half goes to the children, if any, and if none, then three-quarters may go to the widow, and one quarter to the father or mother of her deceased husband, if living; and if no children, or father or mother of the deceased, then the whole goes to the widow.

There is no dower (which is merely a life estate) by our laws, but the widow takes the property absolutely in fee simple of land, and in absolute property, if personal.

Upon the dissolution of the marriage, by divorce, the woman retains her separate property, and such portion of the common property as the Court, taking into consideration all the circumstances, may see fit to adjudge.

It will thus be seen that our laws, so far as property rights are concerned, are very liberal towards women—more so than in any other state of the Union.

## IV.—THE RIGHTS OF MARRIED WOMEN TO CONTROL AND DISPOSE OF THEIR SEPARATE PROPERTY.

Where husband and wife both reside in the state, both must unite in a deed conveying her separate property, or in a mortgage upon the same.

Where the husband has not been for one year a *bona fide* resident of the state, she may convey without him. She may, in conjunction with her husband, execute a power of attorney for the conveyance of lands.

She may, without and independent of her husband, dispose of her property by will.

## V.—HOMESTEAD RIGHTS.

The husband and wife jointly, or either of them separately, may record a declaration of homestead, embracing the premises occupied by them as their residence, not exceeding in value \$5,000, and upon the death of either, the other takes the estate in absolute property.

In this mode the separate property of either spouse, may, by the homestead law, become the property of the other by survivorship; and many cases have arisen where the wife has put upon record a homestead declaration upon the husband's separate property, and then by his death become its absolute owner.

## VI.—LIFE INSURANCE.

She may insure her husband's life for her own benefit.

## VII.—WOMEN AS SOLE TRADERS.

Any married woman, by complying with the law, and following the prescribed formula, may become a sole trader, and engage in almost any kind of business, with all the powers and responsibilities of a *femme sole*.

Hundreds, and perhaps thousands, in this state, have availed themselves of this provision, and are engaged in various branches of trade and industry; the husband in such cases voluntarily taking the subordinate position, and I believe have, as a rule, proved more successful than their husbands had in their attempts to manage the business.

## VIII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

A husband may convey land or property directly to his wife, and the grant, by way of gift, will be valid.

She may sue in her own name respecting her own separate property.

When she seeks a divorce, her husband, upon a proper showing, must provide the means to pay her lawyer's fees, and other legal expenses.

Either spouse may be a witness for or against the other in all cases except in actions for divorce—except that neither shall disclose any communication made to the other during marriage.

A woman attains her majority at the age of eighteen years.

## IX.—DISABILITIES.

Except as a sole trader no married woman can enter into or make a valid contract, save in respect to her separate property as herein-before stated.

She cannot vote, and the general opinion seems to be that she cannot hold office, although there is no positive provision in our constitution or laws against it.

## PRACTICALLY

woman has more consideration in the Golden state, and upon the Pacific coast generally, than elsewhere in any portion of the world.

She has more rights secured to her by law, and in addition by custom and general consent, than elsewhere.

As a rule, laboring women receive about the same wages as laboring men; the kitchen girl and the field hand stand upon an equality.

The sewing women of San Francisco have formed a protective union, and sell their own work, instead of being the slaves of the slop shops and other establishments.

No doubt, much remains to be done to elevate woman even here. That she will eventually have the ballot, and the right to hold public office, is among the certainties of the future.

In the meantime, other states may, in some respects, follow with advantage the progress towards justice to woman, already made by California.

A. M. C.

San Francisco, May 20, 1868.

## A MAN WITHOUT ENEMIES.

In this hour, while the names of Grant and Colfax are ringing through the country, while partisan feeling is beginning to burn anew, is it not well for thoughtful minds to ask, What is the issue in the coming election?

With feelings of pain we are forced to admit, there is nothing in controversy between the present republican and democratic parties, save the possession of lucrative offices. The life or death of no principle is dependent upon the failure or success of either. Neither party has advanced one step in the four years past. The questions which then divided them have been settled, and the victor sits down at Chicago in apathetic ease, selecting for the highest office in the nation, a man who has no enemies; whose principles are unknown; whose silence upon every important question is taken as a mark of great wisdom.

He is a man without enemies because he is a man without ideas. Having no principles in private life, no political opinions in public life, there is nothing to afford vitality to an enemy.

That there is great wisdom in his silence is doubtless true; for then the secret of his ignorance is his own. His silence, however, reminds one of an owl winking and blinking in the sunlight, waiting and hoping for the night to return.

Such a man may be a negatively good man, or at least not positively bad, but he never can be a great man. He may be a popular and successful candidate, but he never will be of great good to his fellow-men.

The hour for such men is past. The world demands that men of ideas; men with some principle at stake; some great good to struggle for, should stand before the people, striving to win them to the right or retard them from progressing toward the wrong.

I would not be disrespectful to Gen. Grant. I honor him for his valor as a soldier and give to him as such his full meed of praise. But when he stoops from his high pedestal, to accept the nomination of a party with no single principle in their platform upon which he can stand; and a party, too, who know nothing of him politically, except that he is popular and likely to be successful, then my admiration changes to disgust.

With all the important questions of trade and commerce, "Woman's Suffrage," "Negro Suffrage," "Taxation," and "Greenbacks" before them, from which to choose a watchword and a cause to battle for, the republican party enter the conflict without choosing a watchword or selecting a cause.

Truly it is time this party should prepare its tomb, rear its monument, inscribe its epitaph and quietly retire from the field of its honors, its fame fresh and gory, and leave to others the work it dare not touch in the advancement of the world.

NEMO.

## VINNIE REAM AND THE REPUBLICANS.

WHATEVER the failings and shortcomings of the republican leaders, it cannot be said that they are not valiant! True, they had not the courage to "hang Jeff Davis," but then they did hang Mrs. Surratt; and it was thought, by some, that she was guilty. This feat, surely, indicated *proveness*? Such heroes might, without excess of modesty, have reposed on laurels so bravely won, but still greater glory, if possible, awaited them. Commencing, by way of training, on Andrew Johnson, they were ready, in the course of a few months, for one of the achievements of modern times! They did not oust Andrew Johnson, but they have ousted Vinnie Ream!

Lest one of the readers of "THE REVOLUTION" may be ignorant, I will state that Vinnie Ream is a young artist, whom Congress, by vote of both Houses, had employed to execute a statue of Lincoln, setting apart a room in the capitol building for her use, and who had bestowed a year's labor on the work, bringing it to a point in its completion when it could not be moved without destruction.

What an opportunity was this for the valiant Bingham, and the chivalric Butler. Here was a foeman worthy of their steel. I do not know whether Miss Vinnie Ream is a good artist, not even from personal knowledge, whether she is good looking, and, therefore, influential with Congressmen. Possibly her "virtue" is not of an order so high as to warrant her working in the same building where immaculate statesmen (!) exhibit their dignity and wisdom to the gaze of an astonished world. But one thing is certain—if she had only been accused of exerting her influence against President Johnson, instead of in his favor, she would now have been at her work, hindered only by the praises and flatteries of the scrupulous and impartial majority, and the country would have been saved one disgraceful exhibition. Seriously, if there was anything lacking on the part of republicans in Congress (with a few exceptions) on the score of meriting the unspeakable contempt of honest men and women, this last performance has supplied that lack.

F. B.

## PEACE.

ALL governments founded in fraud, says our correspondent, G. W., must be supported by force:

Conversing with John Kenrick, Esq., of Newton, Mass., about the Peace Society, of which he was one of the founders, near the close of the war of 1812, he remarked that the Emperor of Russia, head of the Holy Alliance, enrolled himself among its distinguished members. But this adhesion to the cause of peace was only expressed after his power had been expended and wasted in war for the subjugation of all Europe to the rule of despotism, and when all the Christian nations required rest to recuperate their energies and finances; and for the rearing of a new race of men to go forth to battle for the aid of tyranny and the bond brokers!

This conversation was held in the spring of 1824, in the midst of England's darkest days, and how severely she suffered for her participation in that unhallowed cause of despotism, let her tolling men and women of that period answer.

But, thank God! while tyranny was using the few years of peace vouchsafed to poor humanity for a new conflict with human rights, so also, was a new force accumulating in defence of those rights, which showed itself in the Revolution in France, in 1830—in the dismemberment of Holland, and in the spasmodic effort of poor Poland to rise once more to nationality.

But all these efforts manifested themselves in war, and were, of course, barren of results; save only they showed the earth's rulers the inherent powers of man, and their own weakness, when those powers are called into activity. And they also taught the world the lesson that all nations have the right and power to resume all the functions and forces of government when not administered for the universal good of the people over whom it is privileged to preside.

A few years after these events the first Reform bill was passed by the British Parliament, but only received the royal sanction on the spur of the threatened revolution that awaited its refusal!

THE Le Claire (Iowa) Register tells us of a couple of blooming girls there, who row across to Port Byron, Ill., every morning in a skiff, handling the oars in the most approved style, teach a school of ninety scholars all day, and row back again in the evening.



# The Revolution.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, } Editors.  
PARKER PILLSBURY,

SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Proprietor.

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COL. WILLIAM J. NAGLE.

WE never saw Cooper Institute more densely packed than it was on the evening of the 10th inst. to welcome Col. Nagle, after a year's absence in an English dungeon. The Hall was gaily decorated with flags—the green above the red—and filled with Irish workingmen, impatiently waiting the appearance of the orator, another fugitive from British oppression. At eight o'clock, accompanied by Mayor Hoffman, who presided, he made his appearance. The band immediately struck up and played some inspiring Irish airs, when, after a short and spirited address by the Mayor, Col. Nagle was introduced. He was received with three rousing cheers, and for over an hour the audience listened with the deepest interest to a history of his arrest and imprisonment. This was the first time he had ever addressed a public audience.

Congratulating him on his success, and expressing an astonishment that he had never spoken before, "Ah, madam," said he, "solitude and suffering develops a man mighty fast, and contact with mean, narrow, merciless officials soon teaches one self-respect." As we listened to the simple narrative of his arrest and sufferings in a British prison, as he stated fact after fact, we were filled with indignation at the injustice of England, and the indifference of the United States. What a disgrace it is to both countries, that in this age of the world, a man can be arrested for no crime, thrust into a dungeon, and kept there a year without trial.

Shame on England for all her oppressions of Ireland, and her cruelty to those sons of Erin, who would plead her cause. And shame on America that her flag is no protection to her citizens in foreign ports. If Mr. Seward or Mr. Adams had been thrust into a dirty dungeon, lodged on straw, and fed on meal, for no crime, we think they would have been rather impatient with the red tape that would have taken a year to measure their wrongs, to unlock their prison doors and restore them to life and liberty.

Had the United States dared to treat English subjects as they have native born American citizens, we should have seen an English fleet in New York harbor in less than a month. Because King Theodore dared to take three Englishmen prisoners, his dominions were invaded, his army cut to pieces, and his life sacrificed. When Mason and Slidell were captured on an English vessel, England would not brook such an insult to her flag, and our government promptly released them. And yet the *Times* correspondent was here during our war writing treason in all his London letters, and permitted to walk up and down in safety. Now, we are glad that in this country we can afford to let men say what they please in regard to our institutions, in peace or war; and the time has come when it is our duty to teach England to follow our example, to teach her, at all events, that we consider the rights of our citizens quite as sacred as those of her subjects. A few of the timely warnings of the press to the Fenians against

the invasion of Canada would be wisely given to England for her treatment of American citizens. The fact that the Fenians in this country are endeavoring to redress their own wrongs, is proof that the two countries are leaving their duties undone. England kindly sent us missionaries in years past to rebuke us for the sin of slavery; her press ridiculed us for the inconsistencies in our theory and practice; her churches passed resolutions condemning us for our oppression of the African race; and all this hastened the downfall of slavery. Now, let us show our gratitude to the true men and women of England, and our love of humanity, by pointing out to them the wrongs of Ireland, by showing them that in the old world, as the new, the road to safety is in freedom, in larger liberties to the people. A new spirit is moving the world, and the death-knell of caste and class is ringing from land to land, from sea to sea. No censorship of the press, or prison walls, can prevent free thought and free speech. Men grow braver in exile and solitude, and utter with a diviner glow the truth for which they have suffered.

Our battles for freedom, fought by thousands of brave Irishmen, have given a new impulse to liberty in their souls. In the camp, in the battle-field, alone at the midnight hour on duty, many a brave man has lifted his eyes to the calm, clear stars, and vowed he would strike a blow for the liberty of Ireland. Let England be warned in time; let measures of redress on all sides come quick and fast. The masses, everywhere, are waking to the belief, that God never made the few, all booted and spurred, to ride the many to destruction. Every one who observes and reasons must know that the rights of the laboring classes are wholly lost sight of by their governments, and in no country in the world is there a darker record of cruelty and oppression than is found in England's treatment of Ireland for the last four hundred years. The Fenian movement can neither be ridiculed nor frightened out of existence. It is not to be supposed that millions of Irishmen who have tasted the blessings of liberty in a free country can be indifferent to the slavery of their native land. It is their duty, in spite of the English dungeon and gallows, to talk against the slavery of their countrymen, to write against it, and do all in their power to fire the soul of the dullest clown in Britain with the proud determination to have liberty or death.

There is no question, no national issue, sufficiently important to postpone a prompt redress of any individual grievance, for the liberty of the citizen to thought, speech and locomotion is the most sacred right under government; is in fact the foundation of all just government.

E. C. S.

## SORCSIS.

THE Sorosis have had a sumptuous banquet, given by the gentlemen of the press, at which the gentlemen made flattering speeches to the fair sisters, all of which can be found in full in the *Sunday World*. The Sorosis Club, it is understood, are soon to give a dinner to the gentlemen of the press, at which the ladies are to toast and eulogize the noble lords of creation. How much better this is than the continual fault-finding of the strong-minded. Verily a new day dawns for man. We shall wait with great impatience for all the good things that shall be said at that next dinner, and shall give our readers the toasts and speeches of the ladies.

## EDUCATED SUFFRAGE.

THE important practical question of the hour in the nation is, extension of suffrage. And the calamity, the actual danger is in that it has taken a most malignant party form. This is glaringly apparent in the determination of the republicans to force colored suffrage on the Southern states, while rejecting it in the so-called loyal states by overpowering majorities. The Chicago Republican Convention sanctioned such a policy in the name of the nation. Its language is, "the question of suffrage in the loyal states, properly belongs to the people of those states." The states will all be loyal as fast as restored to the Union. And the Carolinas as well as Connecticut, Louisiana as well as Ohio, can repeal the right of the black man to the ballot so soon as they resume their sovereignty. Gen. Grant, if elected President, will approve of such a policy. And from present indications this is all the colored race can expect of "the party of progress."

The democrats can now, if they will, achieve a peaceful, bloodless revolution; the most important in American history. They can secure the control of the government and hold it in honor and power for generations. They can add a lustre to the name of democracy outshining the past in all the annals of the human race. They can clothe the Declaration of Independence with a dignity and sublimity to challenge the admiration and gratitude and kindle anew the hopes of mankind. Shamed by the Chicago treachery, cowardice and cupidity, let them now bound forward to equal, impartial, educated suffrage, irrespective of race, sex or previous condition, and with Judge Chase, or any other sober and competent man, like him openly and earnestly committed to the great basic principle of human government, they would secure not only a party, but a world-wide triumph, the sublimest in all its elements and consequences that ever gave peace to earth or joy to heaven.

The demand of "THE REVOLUTION" is, "Educated suffrage, irrespective of race or sex." The importance of this principle is becoming every day more and more apparent. Every day adds to our population a multitude from almost all the great nations, as well over the Pacific as the Atlantic ocean, ignorant alike of our language, laws, institutions, everything pertaining to us. We have already become the great central orb in the firmament of nationalities. If not morally, we are at least materially, the salt of the earth and the light of the world—the sun, whose centripetal energy, attracts all the shattered and fugitive elements of the old despotisms. Emphatically, we are a city set on a hill that cannot be hid; and a city of refuge, too.

And how to incorporate all these into our body politic wisely and harmoniously, is the grandest problem of the hour. All history demonstrates the most dangerous class in any community is the disfranchised class. Could the Spartan Helots have been dispersed into new states and kept at hard and constant labor under vigorous taskmasters and overseers, they would not have been butchered by thousands in cold blood to be rid of them. Had our Southern slaveholders been shut up with their slaves to territory so narrow as to make the slaves actually dangerous, they too must have resorted to killing, or emancipating and absorbing them into the state. No class of criminals, however desperate, could be so dangerous as a class of outlaws, however few. Bonaparte said if a soldier was not depraved, it was the work of war



to make him so. If a citizen, a criminal even, be not wholly abandoned, outlaw him by disfranchisement, and he becomes so. Like the first murderer, he would shriek, "My punishment is greater than I can bear." It was only by mental and moral degradation that the British peasantry were kept in unresisting vassalage through thirty generations. When the genius of the nineteenth century hovered over the political and moral chaos of the ages, and commanded, "Let there be light," then appeared the sea and the dry land of advancing civilization, and the millennium of human enfranchisement dawned. Westward that star of empire took its way, peacefully breaking the chains of chattel slavery in the West Indies, and rending them by the terrors of war in our own country, and now confronts us with the not less mighty problem of recreating the new heaven and the new earth out of the old, which have passed away.

Nor is it now the colored population, the late slaves, who are to be alone considered. The Chinese Wall is broken down, and from the Celestial Empire, through our Golden Gate swarm myriads of its simple inhabitants. The Oneida circular well says in regard to them:

They were considered harmless and a God-send. All they wanted was work, and they entered readily into the drudgery of the gold-hunters. But already Californians look with troubled countenances upon the increasing numbers among them of these strange people. How will these worshippers of Buddha affect the future growth and institutions of the country? Shall they have free suffrage? Give them the ballot and they would now hold the balance of power in many districts. A gentleman who long resided in California, told me that it is becoming an anxious question with many parents, how to establish their children in life. If not able to start them in business, or give them a profession, they are shut out from the field of honorable labor, because that is already occupied by the Chinese. At first these emigrants were timid, and submitted to be crowded or plundered by lawless adventurers; but they are different now. They have learned their strength, supplied themselves with arms and have joined together in beating off assailants. Nor are they all simple laborers. Their numbers include good mechanics and successful tradesmen. When this flood and ebb-tide of labor from the New and Old Worlds meet, what will be the result? Will they combine to form a new social compound, or will one override the other? Shall we have Buddhist churches and customs confronting us, or have we vitality enough to convert and digest the devotees of that religion into our faith and practice? We cannot long shut our eyes to the fact that mighty problems are coming up for Christian statesmen to solve. New England and the Atlantic states are generally in favor of free suffrage, but the new Pacific states, which stand facing this incoming flood of pagans dare not grant it. It is not that they are against liberty. At heart, they believe in the equality of civil rights, and that it would be turning against the presiding genius which has led them on to prosperity to deny this principle; but they have come to a spot where they cannot see their way through. Plainly, something more is necessary than putting a vote into every man's hand.

A California correspondent says that the better portion of the Chinese in San Francisco are merchants; some of them with magnificent stores and warehouses, over which they preside like princes, and display a dignity such as is rare among Caucasians in similar positions. Every Chinaman, he says, can read in his own language, but makes sad work with the English. The same intelligent writer tells us that though these people are scorned by the ignorant Caucasian drones, every observing man knows they have rendered most important aid in developing the resources of the Pacific coast. Before their arrival, labor was so expensive that almost every manufacturing enterprise failed. Now they are steadily and surely gaining ground. The Chinaman works for a dollar a

day, and boards himself, while the white man demands three dollars at least. Both political parties meanly ignore him, the democrats boldly, as is their wont, the republicans sneakingly, as is their nature too. What the black man is in the Atlantic States to both parties, the Chinaman is there to both; and the worst traits of both parties stand fully revealed in regard to them.

The republicans have already selected their leader, and entered the field for the Presidential contest. Let the democrats construct a similar platform of principles, which would be substantially to adhere to their past, blindly ignoring the progress of the two last administrations (*made in spite of themselves, as well under Lincoln as Johnson*), and they must be inevitably and deservedly beaten. They may as well spare their labor, and save their money. The sneaking, empty pretensions and professions of the republicans towards justice and right will win the people better than the "damn-the nigger" doctrines of the democrats, and they will sweep the field. The election in New Hampshire, last March, showed. Nowhere in the nation was ever republicanism more offensively, loathsomely corrupt than in that unfortunate state, as we showed by most competent testimony in "THE REVOLUTION" before last. Change of a thousand votes would have given the state to the other party. And the course we then and there recommended, would have wrought that change. The same policy, the policy of *honesty*, we are recommending now to the democrats of the whole country. Why should it not be cheerfully adopted? Some of the Southern democrats are preparing for it the most rebellious of them. The colored man now votes in several Northern states, and nobody, no interests suffer thereby. In nearly all the states, suffrage knew nothing of color at the adoption of the Federal Constitution. Even in Connecticut, the black man voted, down to the year 1817. Far into the present century, both women and colored people went to the polls equally with white male citizens. Women have several times attended and participated in elections within a year, and dignity and decency marked the proceedings to a degree before unknown. In England, too, a woman voted for Mr. Bright, and Victoria still reigns.

Not one argument against educated, impartial suffrage has ever been adduced. Intelligent, able men never attempt an argument against it. Those persons who do, prove generally their own unfitness for the ballot, and there the argument ceases.

To the democrats, now is the accepted time and day of salvation. And in saving themselves, they may most gloriously save the country. They may save us all from the flood tides of political corruption and pecuniary profligacy that are now sweeping us away. They may save us from the social abominations that must, ere long, make us as Sodom, and set us with Gomorrah. They may save us from foreign wars, and more frightful and bloody conflicts at home. Never before was such a boon offered to mortals as now to them. Never. Let them beware how they tread it under their feet!

F. P.

A YOUNG girl, perfectly wild, was lately purchased in Terra Del Fuego for a bag of biscuits.—*Exchange*.

Most readers will cry out at the barbarous state of things wherein such a sale can take place. Yet in our boasted "civilized society" the same thing often takes place, only the com-

modity is by no means wild, and the price is higher, and the forms of sale are more expensive. The unfortunate girl becomes a commodity because of the cruelty which fits her for no means of self-support, and shuts such means from her. As the only alternative to starvation, she becomes a reluctant victim, an unloving wife, and an unwilling mother. Her unwelcome offspring are impressed by the fevered condition of her brain, and thus are the effects of oppression transmitted from generation to generation.

A great writer says, "The Turks believe that women have no souls, and by their treatment of them show that they have none themselves." We might with profit consider whether in this matter we are so very much better than the Turks.

## ARTFUL DODGING.—THE CHICAGO PLATFORM.

THE second article of the Chicago Platform runs thus:

The guaranty by Congress of equal suffrage to all loyal men at the South was demanded by every consideration of public safety, of gratitude, and of justice, and must be maintained; while the question of suffrage in all the loyal States properly belongs to the people of those States.

When, therefore, the revolted states are restored, "the question of suffrage" will belong to them in common with the others, because it is not proposed to reunite them in a state of disloyalty. So that, after all, the republican platform instead of being raised to impeachment level, is depressed to the grade of the ignoble immortal seven who dared to vote against it. Why should not Messrs. Butler, Stevens and Boutwell be, or call for an Investigating Committee to ascertain what influences wrought at Chicago to elevate Messrs. Fessenden, Trumbull, Ross, and the rest of "the perjured ones," to honor, while those who voted for impeachment and removal are virtually rebuked and disgraced?

When the fourteenth article of amendments to the Constitution was before Congress, it was not held that "the question of Suffrage belonged to the states," loyal or disloyal. Indeed, Mr. Sumner and other radical members of Congress have repeatedly endeavored to procure the enactment of a law regulating suffrage in all the states. The fourteenth article of amendments declares first, that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside." And secondly, "No state shall make or enforce any laws which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States." But again, just down in the second article, it is declared, "whenever the right to vote at any election [federal or state], is denied to any male inhabitant, being twenty-one years of age, and a citizen of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced," etc., etc. The blundering of this amendment is worse, if possible, than its injustice. It defines who are citizens, then forbids positively any abridgment of "privileges or immunities of citizens," and afterwards provides for the downright robbery of "citizens" of that which is the symbol and crowning glory of citizenship, the right of suffrage! And Congress has made acceptance and adoption of this amendment one of the conditions of admission to the Union on the part of the rebel states. And now, in the face



of all former republican action, in Congress and elsewhere, on the question, making a very important part of the quarrel between Congress and the President about reconstruction, and with the fourteenth article of amendments still flashing in the eyes of rebels as *one stern condition of pardon and acceptance*, the Chicago Convention, controlled by Congress, as none will deny, deliberately declares the national republican policy to be the old, cast iron, southern democratic, slaveholding doctrine, THE QUESTION OF SUFFRAGE IN LOYAL STATES BELONGS TO THE PEOPLE OF THOSE STATES!!

And is this "the party of ideas"? This is the party of progress? If the democrats do not now step forward and nominate Judge Chase on the basis of at least impartial male citizenship and suffrage, they will be beaten as they will richly deserve to be; and their fall will be this time, never to rise again. P. P.

#### HON. THOMAS A. JENCKES'S BILL.

##### WOMEN IN THE CIVIL SERVICE.

HON. THOMAS A. JENCKES, of Rhode Island, has sent us his speech on "the bill to regulate the civil service of the United States and promote the efficiency thereof." We would call the attention of the women of the country to a brief extract from Mr. Jenckes's speech, and to the eleventh section of the bill:

SEC. 11. And be it further enacted, That all citizens of the United States shall be eligible to examination and appointment under the provisions of this act, and the heads of the several Departments may, in their discretion, designate the offices in the several branches of the civil service the duties of which may be performed by females as well as males, and for all such offices females as well as males shall be eligible, and may make application therefor and be examined, recommended, appointed, tried, suspended, and dismissed in manner aforesaid; and the names of those recommended by the examiners shall be placed upon the lists for appointment and promotion in the order of their merit and seniority, and without distinction, other than as aforesaid, from those of male applicants or officers.

Speaking of the reports of the Committees on this bill, Mr. Jenckes says:

It is a pleasure, also, to recognize in their reports the uniform and unqualified testimony in favor of the female employees of the government. This bill proposes to give them an assured position in the service, and all who testify upon the subject agree that their numbers may be increased under the proposed system with profit to the government. These reports show that they are diligent in the performance of their duties, and that they are not peculators or thieves. In the grades of offices to which they have been assigned, as an experiment and upon sufferance hitherto, there are no more honest, faithful, and capable persons in the service.

We have been deeply interested in Mr. Jenckes's speech on the much-needed reform in the civil service. As this department is of far more importance than the military or naval, involving questions of broader scope and greater public interest, we would suggest a National Academy where boys and girls might be thoroughly educated for service in this department of the government. The nation groans to-day with the ignorance of our rulers of the first principles of political economy; of the laws that govern capital and labor, finance and trade.

The leading feature of Mr. Jenckes's bill is that the offices of this department, like those of the military and naval, should be for life, and vacancies supplied by promotion. This, he thinks, would secure skill, encourage fidelity, and make that branch of the service respectable.

The only feature of Mr. Jenckes's bill we do not

like is the proposition to make the Vice-President the Chief of that Bureau. Mr. Jenckes's argument on that point, instead of proving the importance of creating a Bureau, in order, among other reasons, that the Vice-President might have something to do, proves that Gentleman a perfectly useless appendage under government. He says:

Once When President Washington started upon his tour through the southern states in 1791, he requested the Vice-President to attend and to preside at the Cabinet meetings that might be held in his absence, and this was the first and has been the last recognition of the Vice-President as a possible adviser of the President, or of having any right to take part in the Administration.

Let those who wish to know all about the frauds and favoritism of our present system read this able speech of Mr. Jenckes. Speaking of the wholesale corruption in this branch of the government, he says:

It is not to be denied that this disease has penetrated every part of our political system. Unless it is thoroughly eradicated it must end in political death. This government cannot be carried on so long as those who receive the people's money are studying how little they can render for what they receive, instead of giving the most they are capable of to the people's service. And it is doubtful whether this government can endure many changes of administration when fifty thousand persons, more than the entire *personnel* of the army and navy, are liable to be dismissed from the public service for mere opinion's sake. Such shocks are like the repeated explosions of ordnance, which must, sooner or later, end in disruption of the firmest metal.

E. C. S.

#### "LOOK ON THIS PICTURE, AND ON THIS."

THE lady correspondent of the New York *Independent* in the beginning of a late letter, says:

They seemed odd remarks that a grand old Roman of a senator made on Saturday evening, when he said: "Just look at those men who betrayed us to-day; they are not well-made men; there's something the matter with every one of them. Look at Fessenden! he is half dead with dyspepsia. See Trumbull! he looks as if he were made of parchment. Look at Henderson! he is too long for the blood to circulate in his head and in his feet at the same time; and Van Winkle is so obese the circulation would be as slow in the other direction. Then there's Fowler and Ross, poor little creatures! Don't they look like just the men to slink away, and do a mean thing, the very moment you are depending on them to do a right one? There's not a squarely-built, well-put-together man in the whole lot." It helps to make one charitable, at least, to trace moral obliquities to physiological causes.

When the Impeachment was ended and the verdict of *acquittal* endorsed, she says farther on in the letter:

The Chief-Justice comes forth from his robes of office, and arm and arm with a Democratic friend enters his open carriage, and rolls along the avenue. His frame is grand; he sits erect; his arms folded across his chest; his gray hair flowing back with the wind; a singly looking man. The people exclaim, as he passes, "There goes the Chief-Justice!" and turn and gaze after the gay barouche, glittering in the sun. And the august man sits proud and conscious while they gaze.

The writer of such sketches should give the country the whole Court of Impeachers, beginning with Butler. She might have to say of them all (except Chase), "there is something the matter with every one of them."

WOMEN are extensively employed in the English coal mines. About Wigan, it is said, there are several hundred. Their work is hard and very dirty. They are required to work from 6, a.m., to 5 or 6, p.m., with intervals for breakfast and dinner. In many instances, they dress nearly like the men, and drink and smoke and act like

them. Horrible accounts of such things were published thirty years ago and reform was promised, but, it seems, never came.

#### LETTER FROM MR. TRAIN.

HE WISHES TO SHAKE HANDS WITH WENDELL PHILLIPS IN IRELAND.—THE DANIEL O'CONNELL LECTURE.—THE CRUELTY OF ENGLAND TO THE NEGROES.

IN A TURKISH BATH, ST. ANN'S, BLARNEY, May 26, 1868.

DEAR "REVOLUTION":

Don't "pitch in" to the *Standard* so fiercely. The woman's movement has no better friend than Wendell Phillips. But is the negro so far removed from the power of tyranny as to be able to part with his last fast friend? I think not. Mr. Phillips is a clear-headed man, and for statesmanship the country cannot show his equal. Why, he can see farther ahead with his eyes shut than some of our Congressmen with Ross's telescope! So say those who know him best, and the fulfilment of his predictions for the past thirty years go far to prove the truth of the assertion. Why cannot reformers labor together side by side, each in their own specialty, knowing that each is helping the other? As I see the human race, we are all one vast chain-gang, and no person or clan can advance one step without moving the whole body.—*Ez. Letter, "Revolution" May 14.*

Sure enough. "Why cannot reformers labor together?" Let us have no quarrelling. I bear no man, no woman malice. An envious man doubts himself. I possess no envy, no jealousy, no hate. The words revenge, malice, and fear of public opinion were not born in my vocabulary. The lady who wrote the above paragraph is right. Phillips is a great man—a man of power. Like P. P., he strikes out of the beaten track. He is not afraid. His instincts are prophetic. His intuitions are strong as a woman's. Let me acknowledge that he was the man that stirred my blood with the power of eloquence. Then I read Emerson, and was told that all it wanted was courage to go and do likewise.

I remember once hearing the eloquent treason of Phillips. He pictures Tell and the tyrant Gessler, Tell represents abolition; Gessler slavery. "We have fired," said he, "our arrow and killed our child, but we have still another, which we will hurl at the Union and the Church!" These Garrisonians are honest in their faith. They are insane on that question as Brigham Young is on Mormonism, or Jackson Davis on the spirit-rappers. There is ever a kind of madness in intellect, and there is plenty of genius in genuine *isms*. These men may yell for dissolution but they must not touch the Union of our States. No northern abolitionist or southern fire-eater dare act. The Constitution allows them to talk, so let them howl and scream. Let them rant and swear, and curse. The Union will live in spite of the death-rattle croak of the Union-destroying ravens.

No, the Union is safe—mark the vision—the acquaintance—the courtship—the doubt and fear—the association of states—the dowry—the children—the grandchildren—observe how they cling to the parent stem—the constitutional oak. How small the acorn, and how massive the tree—how deep-rooted the trunk, and how wide spread the branches. Like the great banyan in Calcutta's garden, towering high in air, our American banyan stands out, the patriarch of the race. Note its hundred branches, like a general with his officers, regiment, companies—like an admiral, with flag-ship and fleet. The Union is safe in spite of those who would do it harm. Virginia, the first, is the centre of a hundred states.

Americans bathe their feet in both oceans, and lave their brows in gulfs on either side. Oceans, lakes, gulfs, valleys, have been joined by canals, steamboats, railways, and telegraphs, all binding the Union of my native land.—*Young America on Slavery, 1859, Dewitt, Publisher.*

This was written ten years after I heard Phillips in Faneuil Hall.

TRAIN OWNS UP ON THE NEGRO QUESTION.

My love for the Union blinded me to the consequences of slavery. It never occurred to me by killing slavery that it would kill the slave as well. It never occurred to me that England was



fooling us all the time. It never occurred to me that Buxton, Brougham, Russell, Shaftsbury, and Sutherland will all join hands with slavery for the purpose of destroying my country. It never occurred to me that after so much professed love for the negro England would murder him like a dog in Jamaica, and shoot him like a rat in Abyssinia.

THE HORRORS OF THE BLACK HOLE OF JAMAICA.—  
EXETER HALL TAKING CARE OF THE NEGRO.

We will even pass over the penal days in Ireland, when priest-hunting was as popular a pastime with the Saxons of the Pale as badger-baiting and cock-fighting have been with the Cockney sportsman. Neither shall we descend upon the atrocities practised in Ireland, by the British army, in 1798. We shall confine ourselves merely to events of yesterday and to-day, illustrative of the humanizing effect of English civilization at home and abroad. The trial of ex-Governor Eyre, which is now proceeding, will furnish matter for reflection and comment. In the evidence of the witness Lake we are told that during the outbreak in Jamaica—

"He saw thirty-three men flogged, without a trial, on the 18th. He saw twelve flogged on the 19th, eight on the 20th, and four on the 21st. They had been tried. They had fifty lashes each. One of the four was a cripple, and one a volunteer. On the 24th, four; on the 25th, eight; on the 26th, five; and on the same day another batch of eighteen; on the 27th, four. On the 28th a witness fell ill. He was present at the first execution on the 14th of October. Three men and one woman were hanged. They were sentenced at a court-martial at which Colonel Hunt presided. The woman was recommended to mercy. Mr. Eyre was at Morant Bay at that time. Witness saw George Marshall hanged on the 15th without a trial, and on the 21st twenty others. The latter had been tried. On the 23d nineteen were hanged, including James Gordon (hung separately) and George William Gordon. Sixteen were hanged on the 24th, and the same number on the 26th. On the 27th, eighteen were hanged, fifteen men and three women. On the 28th, eleven."—*London Universal News*.

This evidence, page on page, makes one's heart sick. One hardly knows what Christianity is in our day. To save four Englishmen in Africa, thousands of negroes are slain. Tell it not in Gath. But Phillips has at last said a kind word for an Irishman.

DANIEL O'CONNELL.

The object of the British government was evidently two-fold. It was to rob every Catholic of his land—the foundation, in British theory, of power. It was to deprive the Catholic child of education; and, thus powerless on the one hand, and ignorant on the other, to hand the Irish race into the form of service as the footstool of the British crown. (Applause.) This systematic effort of a British ingenuity and malice, for two hundred years apparent on the surface of its statute-book, is a devilish and deliberate purpose to crush out Irish nationality by banishing the Irish race from the island. And large has been their success. Within twenty years the population of Ireland has fallen from eight millions to six, instead of increasing two or three millions, as it should have done. And if to the close of this century the process had gone on as it was going at the commencement, then would not a single Irish Catholic have owned an acre of Irish land at the commencement of the next century. This was the code of which Lord Brougham said that the malice of the British government had so perfectly effected its purpose that it seemed impossible for an Irish Catholic to lift his hand without committing a trespass. This was the code of which Burke said that it was the most elaborate contrivance to degrade and debase a nation and disgrace human nature that ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man. This was the code of which an English Lord Chancellor said, almost in the identical phrase of Chief-Justice Taney, when he infamously asserted that a negro had no rights which a white man was bound to respect. This was the code of which an English Chancellor said, "the theory of the English law does not admit that an Irish Catholic has a right to breathe." This was the code, finally, of which Montesquieu asserted that it was conceived by the devil, written in human blood, and registered in hell. (Applause.) It remained for a full century in operation, and if it had been possible to carry it out in its full bitterness the Irish nation would be now matter of history. But the connivance of Protestant England, the gentle courtesies of the human heart, the irrepressible sympathies of neighborhood and relationship,

checked the full career of this devilish legislation; and although it remained in effect a full century, until 1793, although it steeped Ireland in blood, and sunk her to the midst in wretchedness, poverty, and ignorance, it still had only a half-way career. In 1793 the dread of the French Revolution on the other side of the Channel awed England into justice. Ireland has never won one single step from the justice of England; she got all she has got from her fears. (Applause.) In 1793, dreading the effect of the French Revolution, and at the bidding of repeated insurrections, England finally swept away some of the harsh features of this code. Of course, during this long century, Ireland rose again and again in rebellion. Like the classic legend of the giant hidden beneath the Island of Sicily, and disturbing the Mediterranean by his struggles, the weight of the British Empire on the heads of this victim people was nothing but one series, for a full century, of blessed struggles for justice, equality and right. (Applause.) But the strongest monarchy of Europe was always conqueror until 1782, when the great protestant rising—for it was a selfish and a Protestant rising—mainly led by Grattan and his fellow—summoned the Irish volunteers, 83,000 strong, into existence, but the rising earthquake of French disturbance, and the storm of our young revolution on this side of the Atlantic, forced Charles James Fox, at the head of the British Ministry, to concede the independence of the Irish Parliament and put the cap-sheaf to the laurels of Henry Grattan. It lasted but a very few years. You remember that Grattan said with such touching pathos at the close of the century, when the Union by fraud and corruption was finally carried: "I have stood by the cradle of my country, and I follow its hearse." This was the great rising of 1798, when Ireland made her last terrible attempt to right herself with her own right hand. Protestant Power and Protestant hatred reaped the fullest vengeance.—*Ex. Wendell Phillips's Lecture on Daniel O'Connell*.

LET US SHAKE HANDS.

O'Connell was a great man, but what did he ever do for Ireland? All his plans were failures!

It was a triumph that he owed mainly to eloquence that was never equalled. Perhaps you doubt my testimony. If you do I will vouch for it with the indorsement of a man who never loved Ireland, and that is John Randolph, of Roanoke. (Laughter.) When he went in and heard O'Connell, the old Virginian cried out, "There are the lips, and this is the tongue of human eloquence." I think he was right. I have listened to the impressive solemnity of Webster, been delighted with the grace of Everett, dazzled with the rhetoric of Choate; I know the iron strength of the logic of Calhoun; I have been beneath the magnetism of Henry Clay; it has been my fortune to sit at the feet of the great speakers of the English tongue on the other side of the water; but I think O'Connell's oratory blended into one harmonious whole the solemnity of Webster, the grace of Everett, the logic of Calhoun, and the magnetism of Clay. (Applause.) Nature seemed to have intended him for a Demosthenes of our epoch. She gifted him with everything that goes to make up the great tribune of the people. In the first place, he had a magnificent presence, impressive in bearing—imposing like that of Jupiter—Webster himself hardly outdid him in the majesty of his appearance.—*Phillips's Lecture on O'Connell*.

That is a high compliment from an eloquent judge. But again, I ask, what did he do for Ireland? The moment his sons accepted place his hands were tied. His moral suasion amounted to nothing. He was fifty years agitating, and left Ireland poorer than when he espoused her cause, as Emerson says Napoleon left France. The Repeal fund was squandered. The object was futile. The Fenians have done more for Ireland in five years than O'Connell in fifty.

At Dungarvan I recited in the Hall where he was once hissed, and where he spoke last, these beautiful lines, which you may wish to preserve in the columns of "THE REVOLUTION":

O'CONNELL.

I.

I saw him at the hour of prayer, when morning's earliest dawn  
Was breaking o'er the mountain tops—o'er grassy dell and lawn,  
When the parting shades of night had fled—when moon and stars were gone,

Before a high and gorgeous shrine, the chieftain knelt alone,  
His hands were clasped upon his breast, his eye was raised above—  
I heard those full and solemn tones in words of faith and love:  
He prayed that those who wronged him might for ever be forgiven;  
Oh! who would say such prayers as these are not received in heaven?

II.

I saw him next amid the best and noblest of our isle—  
There was the same majestic form, the same heart-kindling smile!  
But grief was on that princely brow—for others still he mourned,  
He gazed upon poor fettered slaves, and his heart within him burned;  
And he vowed before the captive's God to break the captive's chain—  
To bind the broken heart, and set the bondsman free again;  
And fit he was our chief to be in triumph or in need,  
Who never wronged his deadliest foe in thought, or word, or deed;

III.

I saw him when the light of eve had faded from the West—  
Beside the hearth that old man sat, by infant forms caressed;  
One hand was gently laid upon his grandchild's clustering hair,  
The other, raised to heaven, invoked a blessing and a prayer!  
And woman's lips were heard to breathe a high and glorious strain—  
Those songs of old that haunt us still, and ever will remain  
Within the heart like treasured gems, that brings from mem'ry's cell  
Thoughts of our youthful days, and friends that we have loved so well!

IV.

I saw that eagle glance again—the brow was marked with care,  
Though rich and regal are the robes the Nation's chief doth wear;\*  
And many an eye now quailed with shame, and many a cheek now glow'd,  
As he paid them back with words of love for every curse bestow'd.  
I thought of his unceasing care, his never-ending zeal;  
I heard the watchword burst from all—the gathering cry—*Repeal!*  
And as his eyes were raised to heaven—from whence his mission came—  
He stood amid the thousands there a monarch save in name.

ASTREA.

\* Written during his Majesty.

NOW PHILLIPS HAS TAKEN UP THE IRISH CAUSE I AM WILLING TO BE FORGIVEN.

Nay, more—I will go further than most men. I am willing to admit that he was ahead of me on the slavery question. He was right. I was wrong. I was thinking of the negro. He was looking out for the white man. Slavery was our weakness. It was a growing tumor that some day must have destroyed us if not cut out. As it was, it occasioned an ocean of blood. But the dissection has immortalized America. Phillips is sound on most things now. He is sound on Grant. On that platform we stand side by side. I am willing to go for Phillips for President if he will go for me. To be decided by the one who is the most popular with the people when the election comes off.

Tell P. P. I will never again spell negro with two g's.

AN ENGLISH LADY OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH PROPOSES TO CONVERT MR. TRAIN.

Mrs. Spencer has no opportunity of personally asking Mr. Train to read the enclosed: she therefore hopes that he will pardon the liberty she takes in sending them.

The highest and dearest objects to which man can attain in this life, he must leave behind him, when he is called hence. Neither will they fully satisfy his soul while here. One thing alone, can fill the heart with



peace and satisfaction—that is, a sure and certain hope of eternal life above.

As sinners, we are under condemnation of death. "The soul that sinneth, it shall die—Ezekiel xviii. 4; but "God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on Him should not perish, but have eternal life."—John iii. 16.

Is it not therefore wise, as beings who must live forever, to aim beyond this world?

God offers to each of us a mighty gift. "The wages of sin is death, but the gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord."—Roman vi. 23; and He offers it upon one condition only—"He that believeth on the Son, hath everlasting life, but he that believeth not the Son, shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him."—John iii. 36.

Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved."—Acts xvi. 31.

St. Anne's Hill, May 25th.

#### MR. TRAIN'S REPLY.

Mr. Train's compliments to Mrs. Spencer. Thanks for the pamphlet. Thanks for the good advice. You are frank in writing me. I will be frank in reply. You will be surprised at the plainness of my speech. My countrymen have been often amazed by the straight road I always travel.

While admiring theories, I believe in practice. The state of one's digestion has a good deal to do with one's religion. A disordered stomach will make a bigot—a well-arranged digestion constitutes a saint. We have now too much theology and not enough religion. I believe in the religion of the sun and moon and stars—the wind—and the song of birds—the odor of new-mown hay, and the chatter of little children. Women are but grown up girls. Men are but grown up boys without, however, their innocence or virtue. I believe in being good now, and so live as to be prepared to die. We don't agree about that after life. All religion is organized for power and revenue. Stop the tap and you can change a man's faith. Laugh much, cry little, and take a Turkish bath often is sound doctrine. You will be disturbed when I tell you that I have been a good man all my days—that I never did any wrong. I never pray "Lord have mercy on me a sinner," because I do not admit that I am a sinner. No commandment have I broken, neither do I drink or smoke or gamble, nor could they make me trim in politics to be made a President. I have never met any one who came back from that other world you speak of, and in this humbugging age I don't like to take anything on trust. The Catechism is deceptive. It leads young people all astray. Who made you. They answer—God! Now, I am one of those incredulous beings who do not believe that. Yet this rubbish has gone for many centuries. The character of the Saviour is beautiful. I follow out his precepts. Am I not created in his image? I love myself on that account. He was fond of flowers, and the women of Bethlehem. I am fond of flowers and the women of America. My prayer is always to our Mother who art in Heaven, as well as our Father. I never pray to him *not to lead us into temptation*, for I don't believe he would ever do so. Since the clergymen of the Established Church in Ireland have been made to swim without bladders and walk without crutches, I notice that all the Orangemen are turning Fenians.

Believe me, madam, appreciative of your good will, and glad to have pointed out to you one man who don't consider himself a "miserable sinner."

GEORGE FRANCIS TRAIN.

St. Ann's, Blarney, May 26, 1863.

#### A LIVING FAITH.

A CORRESPONDENT of the *Boston Journal*, writing from Bristol, England, says, the most remarkable thing in England is the "Orphan Establishment" of George Muller. He has five large stone houses, each perfect in itself—each surrounded by a stone wall, having its own lodge, and as distinct as if they were not connected. Each house will hold 400 children. No buildings in Boston or New York for criminal or benevolent purposes equal these "Orphan Houses of Ashley Downs," for size or completeness. Mr. Muller has received and expended on these houses \$2,750,000; every penny of which has been sent him voluntarily, without any solicitation on his part. He feeds, clothes and educates 1,200 orphan children daily, with no reliance but the voluntary contributions of

strangers. He has no endowment, no funds, no great patron, no titled friends, no certain income. He began his work alone in 1835, and has carried it on ever since. He believes in prayer and relies on it. Whatever he wants he prays for. If he wants health or grace, flour or money, bricks or clothing, he asks God for it and gets it. At least he has for 32 years. He lives in the simplest style and does not allow himself a lounge or a rocking chair unless he is sick. He was a poor man when he began, and he is a poor man to-day, though he has handled millions of money and could have spent it as he would. He has several large chapels in Bristol. They are plain as Quaker meeting-houses. They are called Salem, Ebenezer, Gideon, Peace, etc. Muller is a Prussian and was born in 1805. He was in the Prussian army and was in early life accounted very wicked.

CORRECTION.—The name of the writer of our London letter last week is Thomas Mottershead. A friend says of him: "Mr. Mottershead is a working-man, about forty-five years old, a silk-weaver. He has been in every movement of the people for thirty years—Chartist, Trade's Unionist, etc.,—a man of uncommon powers, very much depressed by caste and class distinction. He has a great political brain, knows all about English politics, and understands America a hundred per cent. better than half our public men. He ought to have had a broad place, and in a free social state he would. He writes readily, has been silent, too, many years. There is no opening for him in England; he is too republican for the press. I have other papers from him which I will send."

#### FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

SOMEBODY has said it costs as much to die as to live. The remark had respect to our funeral customs. The *Salem (Mass.) Register* recently had some excellent criticisms on them which we are glad to have seen copied by several other provincial papers. "Very truly it says: "It is a serious tax upon the poor, already suffering enough in the loss, perhaps, of the head and support of the family, to hire a large number of coaches as a condition of the attendance of friends and acquaintances." This was said of funerals when the distance to the place of burial did not require carriages except only to conform to custom. The *Boston Traveller* speaking on the same subject says:

We hope the good old fashion of walking to the grave may be reinstated wherever it can be done. In our large cities, where burying within city limits is no longer possible, carriages are well nigh indispensable. But wherever the cemetery is within walking distance, the old fashion, so respectful and becoming, ought to be adopted as the rule. Funeral expenses have of late, become fearfully large; and the cost of from six to ten carriages, is one very material item in the account. We should be glad to see a reduction, also, in other directions, such as in respect to caskets and the dress and ornaments of the dead, on which hundreds of dollars are now, not unfrequently, lavished, to moulder in the grave; and in costly mourning, which many who can ill afford it, now feel obliged to adopt that they may not be counted singular.

THE public school teachers of New York have reversed the ancient maxim of King Solomon, "Spare the rod, and spoil the child." It now reads, "Spoil the rod, and spare not the child." During the past year nearly 200,000, practical applications of the maxim have been made upon the tender innocents of our city.

Plutarch says, whoever strikes a child degrades himself and the child also.

THE Massachusetts State Temperance Committee have issued an address urging the friends of temperance to commence preparations without delay for the coming election, by the formation of prohibitory clubs in order to carry the State for the temperance cause.

Gentlemen of Massachusetts, had you done your duty two years ago, and so amended your constitution as to give the right of suffrage to the women of the Old Bay State, you could have carried your prohibitory laws in the coming election. Rest assured, you can never carry the temperance reform until you first do this act of justice.

MEXICO MOVING.—The ladies of Merida, in the State of Oajaka, have formed clubs, and are about starting a paper, to be called the *Feminine Race*, which is to be a Woman's Rights organ. The Mexican press are filled with articles complaining of the notorious inefficiency and irregularity of the Post Office Department. New weekly papers are springing up all over the country, a majority of which are Liberal organs, a few being devoted to mining and literary interests.

#### THE STONE WHICH THE BUILDERS REJECTED.

THERE never has been a lack of professors of great principles, and there has always been a scarcity of practical disciples: talk is cheap, but no great principle is established without a real, or (at the time) presumed, sacrifice.

If there was any one principle undertaken to be established, in the initiatory of this nation, it was the principle of the *sovereignty of the individual*, the fundamental right of every governed person to govern; and this principle was held so sound, that it was asserted as self-evident.

Yet, when it came to the test, when the time for organization arrived, a sacrifice was required—a very small one comparatively, as we now see—policy was adopted and principle postponed.

If there was any one thing loudly professed by the republican party in its inception, it was the very same fundamental truths. Yet, has that party ever performed a single act to show that it was willing to put its professions into practice?

What a person, or a party, does under force, is not to be placed to their credit as a voluntary act, and the republican party has never voluntarily inaugurated and perfected a single measure in furtherance of the aforesaid principle. It is not here denied, mind, that nothing has been done in that direction; it is denied that whatever results we see are to be credited to the virtue of the republican party.

Its commencement was really due to the fear that the spread of slavery would ruin the country, not that slavery was contrary to the interest of the negroes as persons entitled to political consideration.

The abolition of slavery was forced upon it in very desperation of preventing a permanent division of the country and universal bankruptcy.

Its first offer to the southern states to reconstruct on a white-man basis was positive treason to its principles as professed; and its last offer (that should have been the first), to have them come in on the basis of a republican form of government was most reluctantly made, under the taunting of their opponents, that in keeping out the southern states they were practical disunionists.

2. The party has constantly professed the prin-



ciple of the equality of men before the law, and whenever presented at the ballot-box as constantly voted down.

As a party, it has been equally loud in its profession, and false in its practice—shirking duty every time the opportunity occurred for a voluntary action of duty, refusing even so poor a sacrifice as that of its foolish and unfounded prejudice—a mere matter of feeling, and that of the meanest kind.

As the fathers of the nation, when they found it in their power to establish a nation on expediency, forgot their self-evident truths—so the republican party, in its success in stratagem and spoils, has forgotten its chief corner-stone, and now stands a rebellion against Providence, the logic of events, and the nature-of-things.

The republican party, in the blindness of its success, has failed to see that that success has been almost uniformly achieved by their opponents cutting their own throats, else they would not have given those opponents the same kind of chance for success, by themselves pursuing the same policy at the state conventions of New York and suffrage convention of New Jersey. In the latter convention, called ostensibly for equal rights, there were three delegates, two on the committee on resolutions, and one endeavoring to get a hearing therein; but the committee peremptorily refused even to consider a resolution affirming the right of suffrage based on citizenship; yet if that was not a proper measure to be promulgated on that occasion, then there was no need of such a convention. In refusing to recognize the talisman of a citizenship suffrage, the republican party in that convention stabbed itself, and it may be, inflicted a mortal wound!

That party has not the exclusive right in this nation as reconstructors, nor is reconstruction of this nation on original fundamental principles confined to the southern states or to the admission of any particular class to the ballot. That party has been offered the opportunity of rising to the true comprehension of the epoch, and of building wisely and well, and scorned the offer. But "the stone which the builders rejected" may, through other builders, become "the head of the corner."

"No taxation without representation," "no just government without the consent of the governed," said the 4th of July, 1776.

Let the 4th of July, 1868, repeat it!

E. H. S.

#### THE NEW ERA.

We progress only as we get new ideas. These are the fruits of mental culture, which is to the mind what exercise is to the body. The history of ideas is not always found in books, but it is written everywhere in the deeds and habits of a people. If a person is wicked, he acts accordingly; and the man who applauds is wicked, also, or else a hypocrite. When travelling, we need no one to tell us how intelligent a community is, for institutions and manners of living speak an unmistakable language. Were an inhabitant of another sphere to come among us, he could not help being surprised to find a people so far advanced in literature and science, and so backward in common sense. We boast of our churches, schools and humane institutions, and, most of all, our government, and yet we are still under the control of customs and rules. We, who are gifted with divine attributes, bow before the weakest intellect, and the lowest of all mankind.

I think it is time for the nineteenth century to take an observation through the telescope of common sense, and see how far we have progressed. Appearances indicate that we are still within the confines of barbarism. Notwithstanding our refinement and culture, we worship the golden calves of society, quite as much as ever the Israelites did their golden calves.

Civilization is the fruit of Christian ideas, but we seem to be afraid of them. The growth of the mind is analogous to the growth of trees. Thinking does for the intellect what cultivation does for corn. One can never be great nor good without aspirations. Vegetation shows the quality of the soil. We might as well expect a rose bush to grow on a board as to look for ideas in a man who does not meditate. The key to progress is thought, but it is important that it springs from high motives. The trouble with our women is, they are like oaks planted in flower pots—they have not room. If a tree cannot grow in one way it will find another. Now women have run off into all manner of nonsensical contrivances, because they take no interest in the country or its institutions. The men say they do not need her assistance at the ballot, that woman has all she desires—the consequence is, her thoughts take root in poor and shallow soil. The less interest a people have in their country the more degraded they become. A thinking person deprived of a voice in the government under which he lives is a slave.

Woman has developed herself as much as the law allows. God gave her the gospel, but man, whom she loves perverts its meaning. He tells her that it is against the Bible for a woman to speak in public, and that it is a disgrace for her sex to meddle with politics, or to get out of a sphere which he defines. Man in his strength debases her, then himself, and curses the world with his offspring. He says, I am coarse; you must not wear the kind of clothes I do, for on woman they are badges of degradation. I drink, chew, smoke, swear, lie, steal, murder, and commit adultery, but you are pure and holy, and must not imitate me, for you are the mother of my children. I love, and will give you the fruits of my vices, and transmit my weaknesses to our children, who will grow up, seduce the virtuous, and fill the land with disease. When your son dies through his debauchery we will call it consumption, and trust in God who comforts those who mourn, and chasteneth them whom he loveth. Our friend, man, continuing, says: God never intended that woman should make laws to interfere with her husband's drunkenness. Her duty is to stay at home and love him. If she go to the polls, her vote will be on the same side as his.

Through the brutal lust of man, woman has become weak, and she is taught that it is unwomanly and contrary to the Scriptures to aspire; hence she does not think nor reflect on the real object of life. But the human mind will grow, and if it is not allowed to follow one channel, it seeks another. Woman debarred from the privileges of her equals, and debased by their sensuality, has turned her attention to objects petty and silly. The Turks have Dr. Holland's theory reduced to a science, and they produce the most beautiful, soft, delicate and worthless females on the face of the earth. Their women wear veils all the while, but ours only part of the time. Still, after all there is hope, for as woman ate twice of the tree of knowledge, it is probable that she got about a third more than Adam. God has filled the soul with his living fire, which man with all his ingenuity cannot quench it. Woman, who has never betrayed or crucified her Saviour, has more than redeemed her sex. Deliverance is fast approaching, and woe to the person who stands in the way. Christian suffrage is the power that will loosen the bonds of cotton and steel, and emancipate woman from fashionable slavery.

When she goes up to the polls the scales of ignorance will fall from her eyes and the reign of calico will end. Freemasonry, the blackest of human deviltry, will vanish like the night before the day. When husbands and wives, brothers and sisters, can enter the Christian Associations, no complaint will be made of empty houses. Temperance owes its success to women.

If the secret records of our colleges could be brought to light, school literature would be covered with a pall of hideous blackness.

The history of female institutions is one of corruption the world over, whether in convents or seminaries. A girl might as well be in her grave, as to go through the secret courses of infamy which are taught in these schools. There is a profound meaning in the sentence, "AND THE LORD GOD SAID: IT IS NOT GOOD THAT THE MAN SHOULD BE ALONE."

In the new era, children will grow up as flowers in June, perfect, healthy and beautiful. When ideas based on religion rule, theatres will be to let, for a people truly intelligent and refined are not enticed by drunken actors and painted prostitutes.

The conflict has commenced, so down with corsets, parasols, veils, false hair, lace bonnets, and the most abominable of all abominations, the present costume. When the slave becomes free, let him throw aside the emblems of bondage, and after giving thanks to God, walk forth ar-

rayed in the garb of freedom. Let us have no more stuffed carcasses, but human beings, fully developed.

I would like to see a company of noble women, dressed in Zouave style—not bloomers—come out on our streets. Indeed, I should consider it an honor to accompany them up Broadway.

Let the daughters of decency prepare to enlist, for already the banners of virtue are flying over the grand army of the Revolution.

R. M.

#### A WORD TO ABUSED WIVES.

LET the marriage question alone; did you say, and wait for female suffrage to unshackle the skein—wait for that monstrous wheel to be turned, which requires the united strength of the best minds of both sexes, before one evolution can be accomplished? Wait for women to wake from their lethargic slumbers? wait for men occupying positions from which they could, if they liked, extend a hand to carry on this glorious cause? Wait all you that wish; but the writer cannot do it. Ten miserable years of married life, in which every article of the wily contract was performed to the letter, and, as far as possible, in the required spirit—ten years of abuse, drunkenness, infidelity and poverty—ten years of child-bearing and child-nursing—deprived of home comforts—cursed, kicked, and finally deserted—has led me to a place where I may not say "wait." No one can be more fully alive to the signs of the times; no one can see, with a clearer vision, the immense benefit accruing to all from female suffrage, than the writer. But when wanes are lifted to mine—when so many are struggling through the deep waters, buffeting the same horrible waves in which my bark came so near being stranded—it is no use to say "wait." Why is it that, from the very commencement, so much more has been required of women than men? Who can tell? Who ordained that man can violate every marriage obligation—drink, abuse, and then be obeyed? Who decided that such men's wills should be the law for wives? Who said that a man could commit every evil in the calendar, and be winked at by society, while a woman making the smallest misstep from conventional paths shall be everlastingly frowned down, and spit upon? Who declared that a woman must live with a wretch through all sorts of personal ill-treatment and licentiousness? Who determined that marriage shall mean everlasting slavery? Who says that because a woman has borne one child for a man she shall continue to bring others into the world to be knocked about and finally ruined by a miserable, drunken father? You, who are suffering this worse than infernal torment, don't believe a word of such stuff; it is the most ridiculous balderdash that ever was repeated. In the first place, you are committing a deadly sin against every law of God and decency when you act a wife's part to such a scamp. A man who fails to fulfill his part of the marital obligation is not entitled to one privilege; and too many, out of a mistaken idea of wifely duty, have made themselves helpless invalids for life. What business, I ask, have you, and you, to tamper with your health and happiness in this despicable style. The poor-house, the street—anywhere, under the canopy of God's heaven, is preferable to such a life.

"Ah!" pleads one, "I know it all; but my husband has money, and with him I can be supported in affluence."

Money! Do I hear aright? Money! Let his cursed money rot with his dirty carcass! Another says:

"Yes; but I love him; and, perhaps, I may, by my patience and perfect unselfishness, be the means of his reformation."

Go away with your nonsense. A man who can be dragged down to such depths with a good wife, can never be raised to manhood by any influence of hers. Free yourself, refuse to live with him. Do it, in kindness and christian charity, if you can; and then try to reform him if you please. Come out from under the yoke, all you that have the courage, and trust in God and the sympathy of your sisters for help in your extremity. Suppose, for a moment, that in some place, could be gathered the women who are compelled to lead the wretched life above described, and Miss Anthony were called upon to address them, would not her eyes fill with tears, and her sympathetic heart throb painfully at the sight before her? Think you she would say "wait?" No; I know better. "Deliver yourselves from your oppressors; show that you have the ability and courage to leave such barbarians to their own darkness and infamy!" That's the way she would put it, I know; and "wait" would be as far from her tongue as double dealing is from her soul. Where should I have been, today, had I waited for female suffrage to deliver me? I shudder at the thought. It strikes me forc-



bly that this agitation, this fearless expression of opinion, the desire and will to free ourselves from such galling servitude is the very impetus that will give the wheel of female suffrage the first shove. For women, who have been trodden under foot, who have sacrificed themselves on the altar of marriage, and who, at last, have burst the bonds that bound them, and stepped out of darkness into marvellous light, are the ones to work earnestly and fearlessly for the cause of equal rights. Who dares dispute it? Divorces, say some, are too easily obtained—perhaps so. How about New York State? Here a woman may not be legally separated from a man—never mind how much personal abuse she may bring witnesses to testify to—unless she has proof positive of his infidelity. That statute, with a few others, needs fixing; and I trust that those compelled to suffer its extremity will give it an overhauling. Just the hardest evidence in the whole realm of sin to get at; and so valuable lives are endangered; women become spiritless machines, with a thing at the crank whose business it is to grind out constant misery and disgrace. Wake up! don't wait for anybody or anything, for any new movement or philanthropic action on the part of society. Remember: "Each for herself: and justice for all!"

ELEANOR KIRK.

MANISTEE, Mich., June 3, 1868.

DEAR "REVOLUTION:" Angel of Help in Woman's Cause—welcome! thrice welcome to our great field!

In the twenty-first number I notice an article from Eleanor Kirk. The blessings of intelligent women will follow her, through all time, for her interest and efforts in our elevation. She says in said article: A lady said to me, yesterday, "Why should I lift up my voice for this Revolution in social affairs you so strongly advocate? Religiously and politically my husband and myself are one; and our love for each other is of such a character that his wish is my law, and vice versa. Now, just that little sentence made every nerve in my body to quiver." Words are not at my command to describe its effect upon me. My husband and myself also are one, as nearly as two can be one; but we should be vastly separate and dissimilar, religiously, politically and socially, were I to retire within a shell of unpardonable selfishness, and ask what need have I to lift up my voice in this Revolution? No, indeed; the "lady" had no just conception of duty. The more harmonious the companionship, the more energetic and faithful ought she to be in the good work, that the thousands of our unfortunate sisters, uncongenially related to everything, may be elevated to a plane where harmony exists. Work on, sisters and brother of "THE REVOLUTION," the right will eventually triumph.

Yours, for human rights,

N. T.

**WOMEN AND AMERICAN RIVERS.**—There is an epigram extant by James Smith (one of the brothers Smith, authors of *Rejected Addresses*), which facetiously seems confirmatory and prophetic of the position now taken. It is contained in a note addressed to Lady Blessington, who was herself a wonderful woman in every way, and runs thus:

DEAR LADY BLESSINGTON: When next you see your American friend, have the goodness to accost him as follows:

In England rivers all are males,  
For instance, Father Thames,  
Whoever in Columbia sails,  
Finds them ma'mselles or dames.

Yes, there the softer sex presides,  
Aquatic, I assure ye,  
And Mrs. Sippi rolls her tides,  
Responsive to Miss Sour.

Your ladyship's faithful and obedient servant,

JAMES SMITH.

**GOOD, IF TRUE.**—It begins to be predicted as well as prayed for that fashion now is going to do what common sense has failed to accomplish—namely, to cut off the long trains from the female costume. This will be in the interest of common sense and cleanliness, as well as economy, but it will still be a triumph of fashion, while the trains cut from the dresses of fashionable women will suffice to decently clothe an equal number of poor creatures who are naked or in rags.

## THOSE PROMINENT POLITICIANS.

THE *Tribune*, a few days ago, said: "A select company of prominent politicians and sporting men visited Harry Hill's Club Room yesterday, to witness the great wrestling match for the championship of America and \$1,000, between Lieut. Ainsworth, of New Haven, and Homer Lane of Jamestown."

I have it from good authority that Charles A. Dana was included among that "select company of prominent politicians." If any well known champion of Woman's Rights were to be caught in such a place as Harry Hill's Houston street den, these "prominent politicians" would be the first to set up a virtuous howl. N. M.

**PROGRESS OF THE UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD.**—Telegraphic dispatches report the completion of 600 miles of the Union Pacific Railroad. The rapidity with which this railroad has been constructed is without precedent in all the history of railroad enterprises. Two years ago, only 40 miles had been built, and yet, at the close of the working season of 1867, 540 miles were in active operation. Through the winter months an accumulation of material for extending the road gave promise of renewed vigor this year, and the fact that 60 miles have been built and equipped since the frost was so far out of the ground as to admit of track laying, shows that that promise will be fulfilled. An immense force of laborers—about ten thousand men—is at work under skillful leadership, and before the end of the season, at least 350 more miles will be added to the completed distance. There will be then finished more than 900 miles west from Omaha, or more than one-half the distance to Sacramento. The Summit of the Rocky Mountains, the highest point upon the entire line, has been surmounted and left in the rear by the builders, and the industrial army are now on the western slope toward Great Salt Lake.

The Union Pacific Railroad Company, which are doing this great work, are offering for sale their First Mortgage Bonds at par and accrued interest from January 1st, in currency. They are for 1,000 each, have thirty years to run, pay 6 per cent. gold interest, and principal as well as interest is payable in gold. These Bonds are issued only as the road progresses. The government loans to aid in building the road, United States Bonds to the following amounts: \$16,000 per mile from the Missouri to the Rocky Mountains, a distance of about 562 miles; 48,000 per mile for the 150 miles through the mountains, and \$32,000 per mile thereafter. The Company are then authorized to issue their own Bonds to an equal amount, and no more. During last year, about twelve million dollars of these Bonds were sold, based upon the number of miles completed. The entire line to the Pacific will be completed in 1876, when the traffic and profit of the road must be immense.

The Company's Bonds have unusual provisions for security. The charter granted by Congress makes them a *First Mortgage* upon the entire line, taking precedence even of the government's claim, the latter holding a second lien as security for its advances. The receipts from way business already show a remarkably successful operation of the line. During the eight months ending December 31, 1867, the net earnings were more than three times the interest upon the Company's Bonds, and the traffic must be greatly increased as the road progresses.

## OUR AGENTS.

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Hon. S. D. HOUSTON, Junction City.  
Mrs. LAURA A. BERRY, Nevada.  
Mr. J. BURNS, No. 1 Wellington Road, Camberwell, London, England.

## Financial Department.

**FINANCIAL AND COMMERCIAL.**—*America versus Europe—Gold, like our Cotton, FOR SALE. Greenbacks for Money. An American System of Finance. American Products and Labor Free. Foreign Manufactures Prohibited. Open doors to Artisans and Immigrants. Atlantic and Pacific Oceans for AMERICAN Steamships and Shipping. New York the Financial Centre of the World. Wall Street emancipated from Bank of England, or American Cash for American Bills. The Credit Foncier and Credit Mobilier System, or Capital Mobilized to Resuscitate the South and our Mining Interests, and to People the Country from Ocean to Ocean, from Omaha to San Francisco. More organized Labor, more Cotton, more Gold and Silver Bullion to sell foreigners at the highest prices. Ten millions of Naturalized Citizens DEMAND A PENNY OCEAN POSTAGE, to Strengthen the Brotherhood of Labor. If Congress Vote One Hundred and Twenty-five Millions for a Standing Army and Freedman's Bureau for the Blacks, Cannot they spare One Million for the Whites?*

## THE REVOLUTION.

NO. XXIV.

## Talk among the Brokers in Wall Street.

The week has been a dull one in Wall street as the leading Brokers have been absent at the Jerome Park races but the Cliques have taken care to make the market strong and advance prices a little higher. The talk is that the

NEW YORK CENTRAL CLIQUE

is going to do something at last, and that

WORK DAVIS AND BARTON

sold a "put" on New York Central, at thirty days for 10,000 SHARES AT 130

which was bought by

DICK SHELL, BLOODGOOD,

and others, and that they bought against it this week which has stiffened the market and made things look very pleasant considering. The talk in

ERIE

is the revival of the old story that the 50,000 shares of new stock are to be withdrawn and replaced by convertible bonds but nobody believes anything that is said about Erie. The talk is about

PACIFIC MAIL

and the way the President,

MR. LOUIS M'LANE,

is using up the company as fast as he can. The talk is whether Mr. Louis M'Lane acts as he does against the interests of Pacific Mail and writes these bear reports about it for the purpose of running down the price so that he and his friends may

BUY THE STOCK CHEAP.

The talk is that

WELLS-FARGO &amp; CO.

have seen their best days and that they will die out now they have lost the business of Pacific Mail and the government subsidy to California. The talk is that the

BUSINESS OF WALL STREET

is going more into government bonds and leaving the stock market, that

MONEY LENDERS ARE FRIGHTENED

at the high prices and the "watered" stocks and litigation. The talk is that the

MILWAUKEE AND ST. PAUL COMPANY

is likely to be involved in new litigation this Fall with some of the old

LA CROSSE BONDHOLDERS



and that some

#### UGLY DEVELOPMENTS

will be made in connection with the formation of the company. The talk is that the Banks and money lenders are

THROWING OUT MILWAUKEE AND ST. PAUL shares as collaterals and that

F. P. JAMES, RUSSELL, SAGE and others will be brought

CONSPICUOUSLY BEFORE THE PUBLIC in these new trials. The talk is that

GOVERNMENT BONDS and first class railway mortgages are the

#### ONLY SAFE COLLATERALS

to sleep on, that the stock market is a risky thing to touch either long or short or as a collateral. The talk is what is going to become of the cliques and clique stocks?

#### THE MONEY MARKET

this week has been the most extraordinary on record in the United States, loans having been made as low as at the rate of 1 per cent. per annum, while the leading government bond dealers were offered, at 2 to 3 per cent. more than they could use. Loans on governments were made at 3 to 4 per cent, and on stock collaterals at 4 to 5 per cent., with the supply largely in excess of the demand. Prime business paper is scarce and wanted at 5 to 6 per cent. The weekly bank statement shows a continuance of bank expansion, the loans having reached the highest point of the year.

The following table shows the changes in the New York city banks compared with the preceding week:

	June 6th	June 13th	Differences.
Loans,	\$273,792,367	\$275,142,024 Inc.	\$1,349,657
Specie,	14,328,531	11,193,631 Dec.	3,134,900
Circulation,	34,188,159	34,166,846 Inc.	21,313
Deposits,	209,089,655	210,670,765 Inc.	1,158,110
Legal-tenders,	68,822,028	69,202,840 Inc.	380,812

#### THE GOLD MARKET

is strong, with an advancing tendency, owing to the large exports of specie, and a considerable short interest, which has been created in anticipation of the large disbursements of coin by government, on July 1st, of about \$33,000,000.

The fluctuations in the gold market for the week were as follows:

	Opening.	Highest.	Lowest.	Closing.
Saturday, 6,	139 3/4	139 3/4	139 3/4	139 3/4
Monday, 8,	139 3/4	139 3/4	139 3/4	139 3/4
Tuesday, 9,	139 3/4	139 3/4	139 3/4	139 3/4
Wednesday, 10,	139 3/4	139 3/4	139 3/4	139 3/4
Thursday, 11,	139 3/4	140	139 3/4	140
Friday, 12,	140	140 3/4	139 3/4	140 3/4
Saturday, 13,	140	140	139 3/4	140
Monday, 15,	140 3/4	140 3/4	140	140 3/4

#### THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE MARKET

is without change. Prime bankers' sixty days' sterling bills are 110 1/2 to 110 3/4, and sight 110 1/2 to 110 3/4. Francs on Paris, long, 5.13 1/2 to 5.12 1/2; and short, 5.10 1/2 to 5.10.

#### UNITED STATES SECURITIES

were dull during the week, and declined from 1/4 to 1/2 per cent., owing to the stormy weather, and the natural reaction after the extraordinary business of the preceding six weeks; but on Saturday there was an active demand and prices advanced from 1/4 to 1/2 per cent., closing strong, with an advancing tendency. The leading government bond dealers have been buying all the round lots that offered during the last ten days, in preparation for the extraordinary demand, which is expected in July, after the disbursements of the dividends and interest. These will aggregate from \$60,000,000 to \$70,000,000, and the bulk will be used in buying governments and other first-class investment securities. The bonds of the Central Pacific Railroad Company have been very active during the week at 103 and interest; and those of the Union Pacific, at 100 and interest. Railway mortgages are much inquired for, and the few that offer are picked up readily at high and advancing prices. The bonds of the Chicago and Great Eastern Railroad Company are much inquired for, as they are convertible into the first mortgage bonds of the Columbus, Chicago and Indiana Central Road, which are issued at the rate of only \$25,000 per mile, and the net earnings of the road are 50 per cent. more than the amount of interest on the bonds.

Fisk & Hatch, 5 Nassau street, report the following quotations:

Coupon, 1881, 116 1/2 to 117; 5-20 Coupon, 1862, 112 1/2 to 112 3/4; 5-20 Coupon, 1864, 110 1/2 to 110 3/4; 5-20 Coupon, 1865, 110 1/2 to 110 3/4; 5-20 Coupon, Jan. and July, 1865, 113 1/2 to 113 3/4; 5-20 Coupon, 1867, 113 1/2 to 114; 10-40 Coupon, 106 1/4 to 106 3/4; June, 7-30, 109 1/2 to 109 3/4; July, 7-30, 109 1/2 to 109 3/4.

#### THE RAILWAY SHARE MARKET

was firmer, and prices at the close had an upward tendency.

Musgrave & Co., 19 Broad street, report the following quotations:

Canton, 50 to 50 1/2; Boston W. P., 22 to —; Cumb. Coal, 33 to 34; Wells, Fargo & Co., 26 to 26 1/2; American Express, 52 to 53 1/4; Adams Express, 56 1/2 to 56 3/4; United States Express, 54 1/2 to 55 1/4; Merchant's Union Express, 28 1/4 to 28 3/4; Quicksilver, 26 to 26 1/2; Mariposa, 4 to 5; do. preferred, 7 1/2 to 8 1/4; Pacific Mail, 97 1/4 to 97 3/4; Atlantic Mail, 31 to 34; W. U. Tel., 37 1/2 to 38 1/2; New York Central, 135 to 135 1/4; Erie, 69 1/2 to 69 3/4; preferred, 75 1/2 to 76; Hudson River, 140 to —; Reading, 97 1/4 to 97 3/4; Tol. W. & W., 48 1/2 to 48 3/4; preferred, 68 to 69; Mil. & St. P., 65 1/4 to 67; preferred 77 1/2 to 78 1/4; Ohio & M. C. 29 1/2 to 29 3/4; Mich. Cen., 121 to 122; Mich. South, 89 1/2 to 89 3/4; Ill. Central, 154 1/2 to 157; Cleveland & Pittsburg, 88 1/2 to 88 3/4; Cleveland & Toledo, 107 to 107 1/2; Rock Island, 104 1/4 to 104 3/4; North Western, 70 1/2 to 70 3/4 preferred, 83 1/2 to 83 3/4; Fort Wayne, 111 1/4 to 111 3/4.

#### THE CUSTOMS DUTIES

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